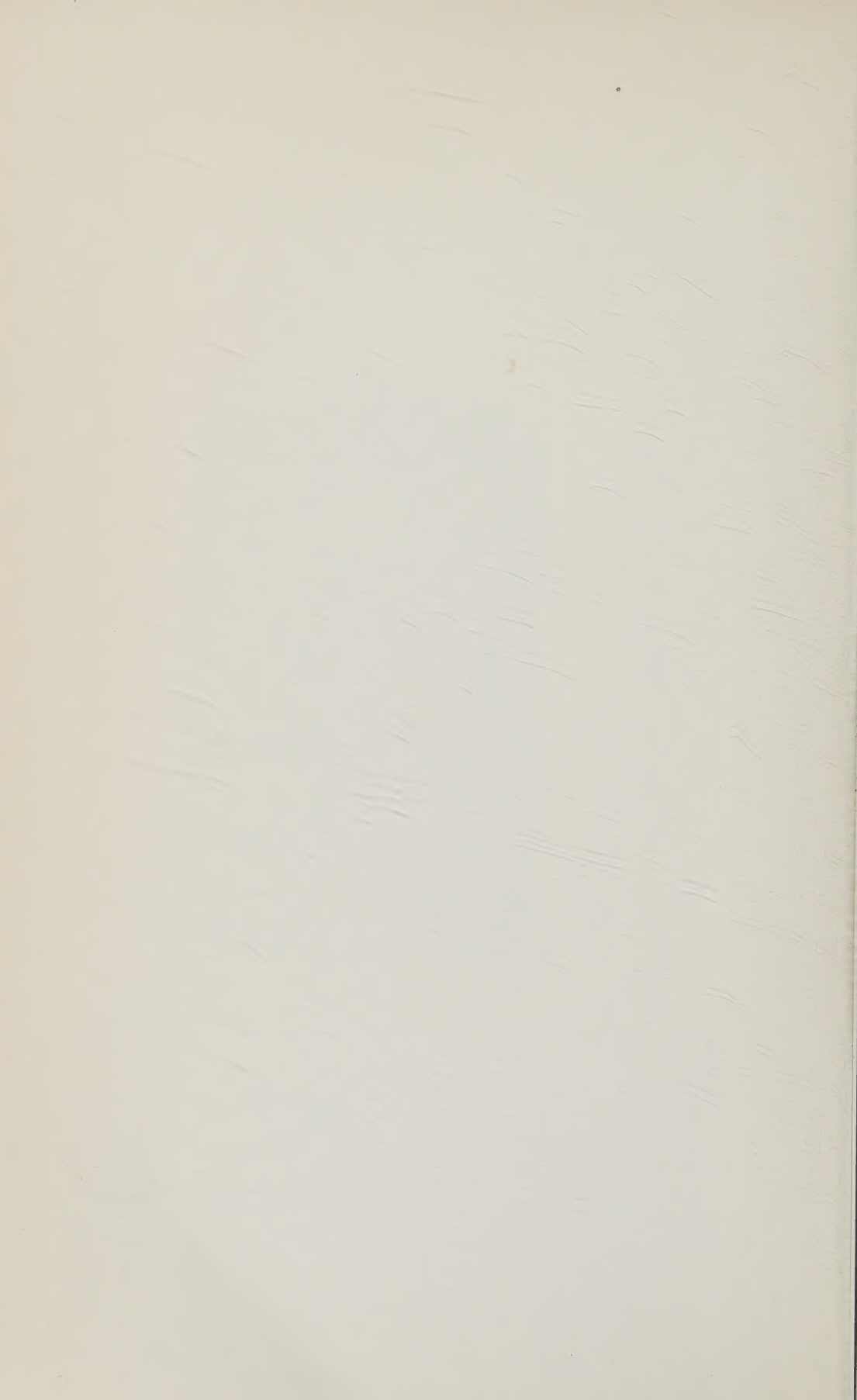
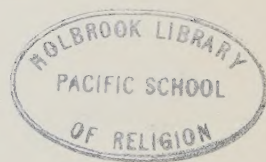
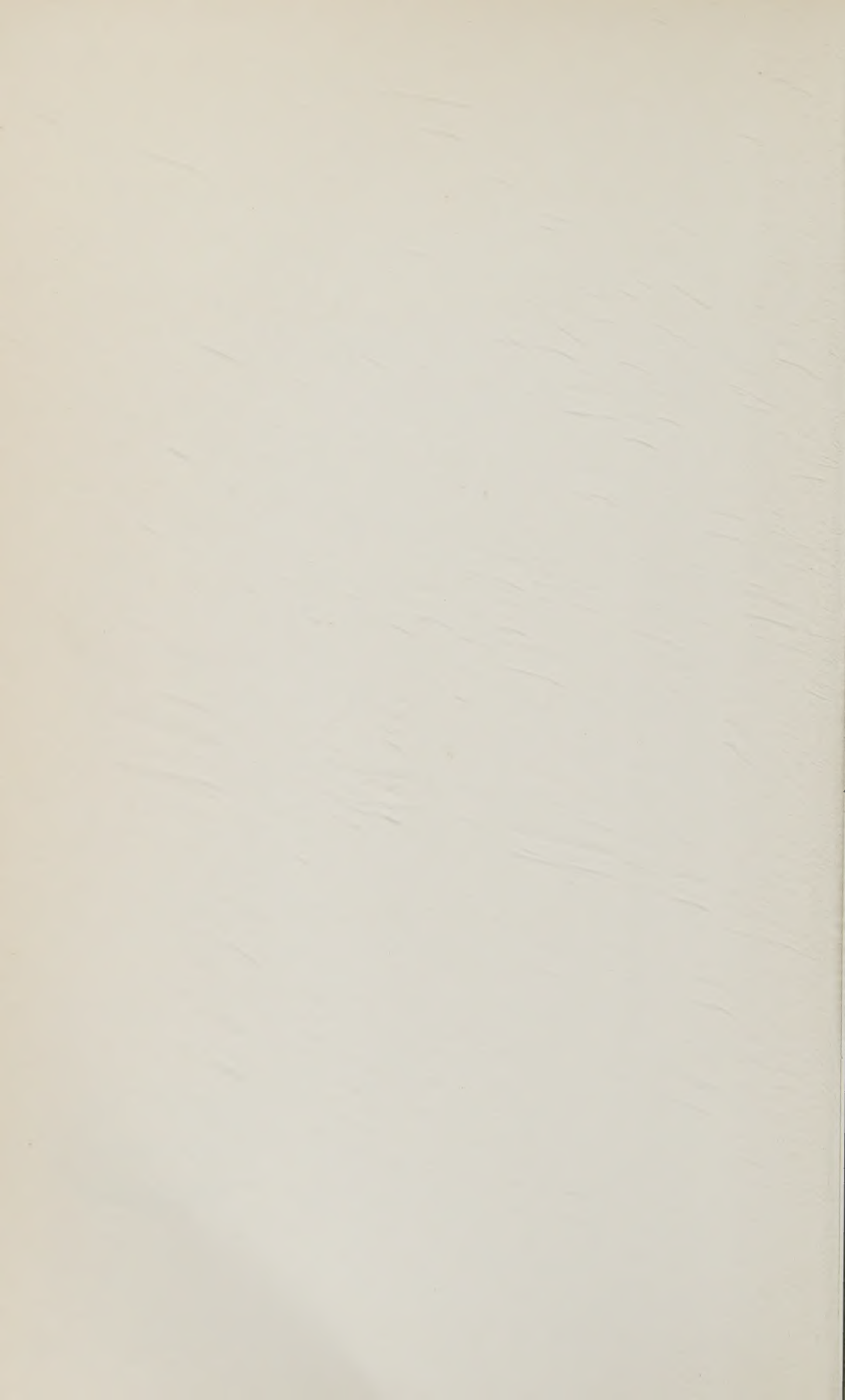






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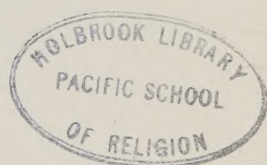
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VOLUME TWO

1940

Published Quarterly by
THE CATHOLIC BIBLICAL ASSOCIATION
Washington, D. C.
1940



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PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

Your Excellency and Fellow Members of the Catholic
Biblical Association of America:

As we look back over the twelve months since our last General Meeting, I think we have reason to be thankful for the progress the Association has made. Its membership has increased five-fold, and this in itself is a sign that its aims and activities are meeting with a good response. *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, our official periodical, has completed its first year—always a trying period for a new magazine—with marked success. The Revised Version of the Catholic New Testament in English is nearing completion.

The program which the Association outlined for itself at its outset does not differ in aim from one of the principal purposes for which the Bible itself was written, namely, that the sacred writings might be *studied and read*, and thereby contribute to the spiritual benefit of mankind. And already the Association has made a promising beginning toward this worthy end through the splendid articles that have appeared in *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* and the progress that has been made on the revision of the New Testament Scriptures.

To promote *scientific* reading or study of the Bible, then, is a professed aim of this organization. The field of interest here is wide; it includes "all the branches of learning connected with the study of Sacred Scripture" (Const., Article III). These branches have received considerable attention in our General Meetings and in the pages of the Quarterly. The discussions on seminary courses in Sacred Scripture, and many aspects of biblical science held in this and the previous meetings, have been particularly useful.

It is encouraging to recall that work of this kind, which furthers the progress of biblical science, has always been regarded with particular favor by the Church. In proof of this we have the long line of great scripturists whom the Church has produced and the numerous decrees on sacred learning issued by Popes and Councils. It is most natural too that biblical studies should be held in this high esteem. For, in the words of Leo XIII, "Scripture is the very soul of theology." Revelation, written and handed down, furnishes the principles of the various ecclesiastical sciences. When biblical knowledge flourishes,

these sciences prosper; when biblical knowledge declines, these sciences decline also. We have it from the same illustrious Pontiff that Christian Doctrine relies mainly on Scripture, and this would apply not only to the pulpit, but also to the school. Christianity is distinctively a revealed religion, and it is through Holy Writ therefore that it receives its singular power. The Bible furnishes the preacher or teacher not only with divine authority for what he says, but also with numerous and striking themes, examples, developments, applications, indeed often with the very language and wording in which the message may be most suitably expressed.

In addition to these general reasons for biblical study, there is in our days a special and urgent one. We know that the Bible no longer holds the singular place of honor once accorded it. Outside the Church today there are many whose parents revered the Scriptures as the supreme book of the ages, but who themselves now regard it as only one book among many. The attacks of Rationalism have weakened their faith. They consequently look upon the Bible as merely a spiritual classic, like to those of other religions, or as a striking monument of ancient literature. Biblical specialists therefore, as Leo XIII said, are among the greatest needs of the Church. By them the foundations of revealed religion are defended; by them also the Bible has gained some of its noblest triumphs. Without their efforts the Scriptures will not be adequately explained or defended, and so more and more persons will turn their attention to other books and other teachings.

Scientific reading, or study, of the Bible, is, then, the chief interest of this Association. But there is another form of Bible reading, namely, the *devotional*, and this also has a claim on the consideration of any group devoted to the spiritual mission of the sacred writings. St. Jerome, the patron of this Association, was not merely the ideal of biblical scholars but also the advocate of Bible reading by all who could profit by it. It is hoped that the Revised Version of the Catholic Bible which the members of this Association are preparing may do much to make the Catholics of America more familiar with Sacred Scripture.

The Church, while condemning harmful reading of the Bible, by which the "unwise and unstable turn Scripture to their own destruction" (2 Pet. 3:16), has always advised profitable reading of the sacred books. In the time of the Fathers this kind of

reading by all classes was promoted, and notably by St. Jerome. In the Middle Ages the laity as well as the clergy made great use of Holy Scripture, so much so that even non-Catholics have called those centuries the age of one book and the time when the Bible enjoyed its most undisputed influence. In modern times the Popes have blessed the practice of daily Bible reading, have promoted the Society of St. Jerome dedicated to the spread of the New Testament and other books, have called on all Christian families to possess the sacred text and meditate on it daily, have praised those who bring out the Word of God in convenient and attractive form, and so on. The Pontiffs who have so encouraged the use of the Bible knew from experience that the people love the Scriptures and can derive abundant profit from them. Benedict XV in his encyclical on St. Jerome, September 15, 1920, said that a copious blessing must descend on the Church when men are brought in ever greater numbers to the banquet of heavenly doctrine prepared by God through His prophets. Apostles, and teachers. In 1884 the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, in its Pastoral Letter, expressed the wish that the most highly valued treasure of every home and the one most frequently and lovingly used should be the Holy Bible.

And yet, unfortunately today the Bible is little read, even though it remains the best seller among books. English-speaking peoples, once famed as readers of the Scriptures, are so no longer. The faithful themselves, though acquainted with the substance of divine revelation, are not as a rule well informed in biblical matters. Very few even of the best read among the laity could be described as "mighty in the Scriptures."

This modern neglect of the Bible cannot be blamed on the Church, which down the centuries has preserved, translated, and multiplied the Scriptures, and recommended their proper and reverent use. On the contrary, Church authorities deplore this neglect as a major misfortune of our age.

Though Scripture reading is not imposed as a general obligation, those who know nothing of it are missing much. The more one reads the Bible—the whole Bible—the more one realizes its matchless worth. It is a collection of sacred books that unfold themselves ever more vividly and entrancingly the oftener they are read. To be assured of this, the writer of this paper needs only to consult his personal experience. During the past forty years he has systematically read the whole Bible from beginning

to end some ten or a dozen times, reading so much each day, with the aid of works on Introduction and a good Commentary; and he has found it more illuminating and fascinating with each reading.

Our generation needs help which only the Bible can give. It needs to know more about its Saviour, and there is no Life of Christ comparable to that given in the Gospels. It needs more information about the Church, and the New Testament describes the foundation of Christ's Kingdom. It needs enlightenment on many a point of faith, worship, and practice; and these rest largely on Scripture. It needs the heavenly atmosphere and the eternal viewpoint, and there is no book of meditation and prayer equal to the Bible. It needs direction in conduct, and in the Bible it can find examples, warnings and correction, models, commandments and counsels. It needs encouragement, and the Good News and comfort of the Scriptures have never failed to give this.

The Bible is not remote from human life, for it is eternal and has a message for every generation and each individual life. It is not dry and uninviting, but the most interesting of books, unrivalled both in thought and language. In this age when almost everyone reads and good books are a prime necessity, it seems that the Bible, which ranks among all volumes as "the Good Book," should be read more than ever. Hitherto among us there have been notable impediments to so desirable a condition, such as:

- 1) the archaic diction of the Bible so long in use;
- 2) the inconvenient typographical style;
- 3) the price.

Today a great improvement has been made through the production of new versions suited in language and appearance to what is now best and most modern. Handy commentaries are in preparation. And with a larger circulation of the Sacred Books the price can be put within the reach of all. When all this has been accomplished, we can hope that the question often asked, "Why do not Catholics read the Bible?" may be unnecessary.

JOHN A. MCHUGH, O.P.

THE TRAINING OF THE TWELVE ACCORDING TO ST. MARK

It was a very special grace to see Jesus and to hear Him, to witness the manifestation of His glory in His miracles. Contact with our Savior was granted to the people of Palestine in a way in which it can never be granted to others; and that land which received the imprint of His blessed feet as He went about relieving the spiritual and temporal wants of His fellow men will ever be for His disciples sacred ground, which pilgrims will visit in order that they may better imagine the scenes described in the Gospels and thus render more vivid the impression of the immortal lessons He taught. But making pilgrimages to the Holy Land and meditating on the actions and words of Jesus would be a poor and inadequate way to unite oneself to the Savior. A better way has been provided. Something like the grace accorded the inhabitants of Palestine during the days of His life on earth was granted to the future generations of men throughout the whole world.

His Spirit would communicate to them His supernatural life, make them partakers of His Divine Sonship in as real a sense as He is a sharer of our humanity. This highest good that man could desire was to be communicated in a manner comparable to that in which Jesus granted it to His first disciples. This communication of life was not to be effected exclusively by the inner action of the Holy Spirit. Such were, indeed, a possible means. The Holy Spirit might have communicated divine grace to men's souls and taught them to think the thoughts of Jesus and to act on His principles, without any external aids. But it pleased God to choose means better adapted to our nature. Jesus first made disciples by teaching the truths of salvation and urging to faith, repentance, and love, as man speaks to a man; so He would do in the future, through the hierarchy of His Church. The first members of this hierarchy were the Apostles. Their choice and training had a very important place in the work of our Lord.

THE MEN CHOSEN

The Apostles did not belong to the class of the aristocratic Sadducees, who at the time owned most of the money of Palestine and wielded most of the power that the Romans had left in the

hands of the Jews. They had not the qualifications Jesus sought. Even those who are brought up under the influence of Christianity are easily spoiled by riches and power, and there were probably none among the Sadducees, educated in less favorable circumstances, who could have been changed into Apostles without miracles of conversion which it did not enter into our Lord's plan to work.

Nor were the Apostles chosen from among the Pharisees, although these had in their ranks most of the learned men of the Jewish nation; they were too uncharitable and too proud. The only scribe who offered himself seems to have been frightened away by the spectacle of our Lord's poverty (Mt. 8:19-20). The Apostles belonged to the lower ranks of society: of the five whose occupations are given in the Gospel, four were fishermen and one was a customs-officer. It is not likely that any were of higher rank. But in them our Lord found love of truth, a desire of perfection, docility, the first essential qualities in the men whom He would fashion after His own heart; He found in them too disinterestedness, a capacity for self-sacrifice, and other qualities which under His pedagogy could be made the foundation of the supernatural edifice which His grace would erect. They were far from being faultless: in nothing is the candor of the Evangelists more striking than in the clear view they give us of the Apostles' failings, such as their ambition, their lack of spiritual-mindedness. They tell of their discussion about who was the greatest and of the effort of James and John to secure the highest places in the Kingdom; they tell in painful detail of the denial of Peter, their leader, when the Master stood before His judges. But Peter and the other Apostles did not worship Mammon, they were not self-satisfied; they could learn and they could obey. Grace could change them into dauntless heroes. It might require something like a miracle to do it; but the miracle was far less remote from the powers of nature than the conversion of the Sadducee or the Pharisee. Their faults were less glaringly opposed to the childlike disposition which Jesus would have in His followers.

CHOICE OF THE TWELVE

From the time of His return from the desert of the Temptation, Jesus began to attach to Himself the men who were to be

His Apostles. John the Baptist's disciples furnished the first recruits (Jn. 1:35-51; Mk. 1:15-20 and parallels), Andrew and John, Peter and James, Philip and Bartholomew. Matthew, the customs-officer of Capharnaum, came next. The final selection of the Twelve Apostles is best told by St. Luke (6:12 ff.):

Once, in those days (during the second period of the Galilean ministry), Jesus went into the mountain to pray; and He continued all night in prayer of God. And when it was day, He called His disciples to Him; and He chose from among them twelve, whom moreover He named Apostles: Simon, whom He also named Peter, and Andrew his brother; James and John; Philip and Bartholomew; Matthew and Thomas; James the son of Alphaeus and Simon who was called the Zealot; and Jude the brother of James, and Judas Iscariot, who became the traitor (Cf. Mk. 3:13-19; Mt. 10:1-4).

From the very first the formation of the Apostles was one of the principal concerns of our Lord. They accompanied Him in His missionary journeys, sharing in His hardships; they formed the inner circle of the disciples who listened to His discourses; they were witnesses of the miracles, some of which, like the stilling of the waves (Mk. 14:35-40) and the walking on the sea (6:45-52) were for their special benefit. Finally, even during the Galilean ministry, they were sent on a mission of preaching, invested with miraculous power.

The detachment from this world's goods, which was to be a characteristic of the Christian missionary, was inculcated when they were sent on this mission in Galilee. They were ordered to go forth without provisions for the journey: no bread, no money in their girdle. (Mk. 6:7-13; Lk. 9:1-6; Mt. 10:5-15).¹

When the Apostles returned to Jesus, elated by the things they had done, He said to them, "Come apart into a desert place, and rest a little. For there were many coming and going, and they had not so much as time to eat" (Mk. 6:30-32). Thus, even during the period when our Lord's time was most taken up with the multitudes He devoted special attention to His Apostles in desert places apart; gave them special signs of His powers; associated them to Himself in the work of preparing the way for the reign of God by exhorting to repentance; communicated to them the power of miracles, and taught them to use power in a

¹ Mt. 10:16-23 does not pertain to the Galilean mission, but to the after-work of the Apostles. A parallel is inserted in the great apocalyptic discourse, ch. 13.

disinterested way. But the time came when the hostility of the Pharisees, and the unintelligence of the multitudes, together with the dangerous interest of Herod (Luke 13:31) determined our Lord to withdraw from Lower Galilee, and during several months of the last year of His ministry, He devoted Himself more exclusively to His Apostles.

JOURNEY THROUGH PHOENICIA AND THE DECAPOLIS

Passing through the mountains in Northern Galilee, He went with them into the territory of Tyre and Sidon, a Gentile country where they might expect to be undisturbed. When it became known that He was near Tyre and the people began to come to Him, He withdrew through the territory of Sidon. He then crossed the Lebanon mountains, and went into the Decapolis by a road crossing the Jordan north of the Sea of Galilee (Mk. 7:24-8:39). This journey probably took considerable time between the Passover and the feast of Tabernacles (Jn. 5-7). Our Lord would during this time unfold to His Apostles the nature and the ways of His heavenly Father and the moral law of the Kingdom; He would correct their faults and set forth the nature, charms, and rewards of virtue. It takes a truly great man to appear great in the eyes of those who are closely connected with Him, especially as travelling companions; but in this case intimate intercourse could but lead to greater faith and greater love. It was mainly by developing faith and love for Himself that Jesus prepared the Apostles for the hard revelation which He was soon to make.

After leaving the Decapolis Jesus and His Apostles went into the territory of Caesarea of Philip, a great city whose ruins are still seen surrounding the squalid Arab town of Baniyas, beneath Mount Hermon. Here He asked them who men said that He was. He had not told them. He had simply spoken and acted, and left them to draw the conclusion. They answered Him: "Some say John the Baptist; and others say Elias, and others One of the Prophets." And He asked them: "But you, who do you say that I am?" Peter answering said to him, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."²

² Mk. 8:27-30 has only: "Thou art the Christ." The addition, "The Son of the living God" (Mt. 16:16), may be regarded as completing and explaining the words recorded by St. Mark, who certainly did not have a different

"From that time Jesus *began* to teach them that He must suffer many things, and be rejected by the Elders, and the Chief Priests, and the Scribes [i.e., by the Sanhedrin, the Supreme Court of Israel to whose decisions the Jews throughout the world bowed in submission], and be put to death, and after three days rise again" (Mk. 8:31; cf. 9:30; 10:32-34).

THE PRIVILEGED THREE

The scene of the Transfiguration, which took place six days after, gave the three privileged disciples, Peter, James, and John, a glimpse of that divine glory which was concealed under the plain exterior of their Master: and a voice from Heaven was heard saying: "This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him." (Mk. 9:1-12; Mt. 17:1-13; Lk. 9:28-36.)

The Transfiguration is the culminating event of our Lord's life before He started for Jerusalem to die. It doubtless strengthened the faith of Peter, James, and John as it later did the faith of those to whom they related it. In his second Epistle, St. Peter refers to it as a decisive proof that they had not followed artificial fables but the teaching of One who had "received from God the Father honor and glory" (2 Pet. 1:16-17).

LESSON ON THE NEED OF PRAYER AND FASTING

The need of faith, of prayerful dependence on God, and of fasting, was inculcated after the transfiguration, on the occasion of the Apostles' failure to deliver the demoniac. (Mk. 9:13-28; Mt. 17:14-16; Lk. 9:37-44). Afterwards Jesus and His Apostles "passed through Galilee, and He would not that any man should know it, for He was teaching His disciples" (Mk. 9:30-31).

Besides the lesson contained in the new teaching that the Son of Man was to be put to death, already begun at Caesarea (8:31), Jesus gives His Apostles a number of lessons which are recorded in St. Mark (9:32 ff.) and in parallel passages of the other Synoptics.

notion of the nature of Christ at the time he wrote; or it is possible to regard it as the result of further revelation, such as that given at the Transfiguration, and here joined by St. Matthew to the confession of faith in the Messiahship. His literary procedure would allow him thus to bring together different sayings of Jesus.

HUMILITY AND SPIRIT OF SERVICE

Humility is specially dwelt on, particularly for him who is to be the head of the Church (32-40). Our Lord is not astonished at the question of the Apostles: "Who is [or is to be] the greatest?" He does not contest the principle of hierarchy, but He indicates the spirit which should animate the leaders. He tells them in a paradoxical way, that one who wishes to be first must become the last. Rather than aim at honors, they should choose functions which are lowly, be charitable, become the servants of Christ's little ones. The Pope was to be the "servant of the servants of God."

The least service rendered in Christ's name and for His sake will be rewarded (40). Spiritual injury on the other hand will be punished; one must avoid falling into sin at any cost (41-47). The disciple must be a victim; to be true to the new covenant, he must pass through the fire of self-sacrifice, fire which is as necessary as salt was in the ancient ritual (Cf. Lev. 2:13). Such self-immolation is necessary for peace among His disciples.

It would be impossible to deal in a summary way with all the lessons by which our Lord trained His Apostles. One would have to comment not merely on the words spoken to them apart, but on all the sayings and discourses by which He taught what virtues were befitting Christians. For all the teaching given the multitudes was addressed to them, and with special explanations.³

When Jesus "set His face to go to Jerusalem" His Apostles were all willing like Thomas to "die with Him" (Jn. 11:16); but they did not yet understand the doctrine of the Cross.

At the Passion they were still weak. The Resurrection, foretold by the Master, restored their faith and confidence. Their transformation into "fishers of men" was completed by the Holy Ghost at Pentecost. "Endowed with power from on high" they went forth bearing witness to the things they had seen and heard, in defiance of all the powers of the world, intent only on making disciples of all nations.

W. S. REILLY.

³ Suggestions for the development of this theme may be found in *The Training of the Twelve*, or *Passages out of the Gospels exhibiting the twelve disciples of Jesus under discipline for the Apostleship*, 4th ed. by Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D. (Hodder and Stoughton, New York); *Jésus Educateur des Apôtres*, P. J. Delbrel, S.J. (Paris, Gabriel Beauchesne, 1916); and in *Jésus et Ses Apôtres*, by the Abbe Felix Klein (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1931).

A TEST CASE IN TEXT TRANSMISSION

Jeremias 33:14-26

To illustrate the difficulties of text transmission, let me begin with a modern instance:

In the golden lightning
Of the sunken sun,
O'er which clouds are bright'ning,
Thou dost float and run,
Like an *unbodied*¹ joy whose race is just begun.

This is the third stanza of "The Skylark." Thus it is printed in William Michael Rossetti's edition² of Shelley's complete Poetical Works. But in a note³ Rossetti says that in a former edition⁴ he had printed the italicized word, not unbodied, but *embodied*. He withdrew the 'embodied,' he adds, "in deference to the protests of various Shelleyites."

The poem was written in 1820. Fifty years later, in 1870, transmission left Shelley's editor unable to decide what Shelley actually wrote. If we write 1500 years instead of fifty, we have the problem facing the Vulgate commission,⁵ which, by studying all existing MSS. and editions, is endeavoring to give to the Church and the world the exact words that came from the pen of St. Jerome. If the Church, in course of time, establishes a Septuagint commission, that commission's text-transmission problem will cover, not merely fifty years, not merely fifteen hundred years, but a period exceeding two thousand years.

Emboldened by this prophetic prospect, we ask the final question: Can we hope for a time when some commission will give to the Church and the world the original wording that fell from the lips or pens of the inspired authors of Scripture? If so, then the horizon of that commission's labors will lie at a distance, at least approximately, of three millenniums.

The problem of that prospective commission is also the problem to which, for this brief hour, I am inviting your attention. I select one passage, the last thirteen verses of the thirty-third

¹ Italics mine.

² London, Reeves and Turner (undated).

³ Vol. III, p. 406.

⁴ Published in 1870.

⁵ The commission to date has published: The Pentateuch, Josue, Judges, and Ruth.

chapter of Jeremias. As guideposts for discussion, I ask you to note:

First, the contents of the passage.

Second, the text-history of the passage.

Third, the insufficiency of current attempts to explain that history.

Fourth, what I hold to be the true explanation.

AN UNIQUE MESSIANIC PROPHECY

Liber Jeremiae Prophetarum (MPL 28, 899-900)

33:14 Ecce dies veniunt, dicit Dominus:

et suscitabo verbum bonum, quod locutus sum ad domum
Israel et ad domum Juda.

15 In diebus illis, et in tempore illo,
germinare faciam David germen justitiae:
et faciet iudicium et justitiam in terra.

16 In diebus illis salvabitur Juda,
et Jerusalem habitavit confidenter. (Hetz: habitabit)
Et hoc est quod vocabit eam, (Hetz: eum)
Dominus justus noster.

17 Quia haec dicit Dominus:
Non interibit de David vir,
qui sedeat super thronum domus Israel.

18 Et de Sacerdotibus et de Levitis non interibit vir a facie mea,
et incendat sacrificium, et caedat victimas cunctis diebus.
qui offerat holocausta,

19 Et factum est verbum Domini ad Jeremiam, dicens:

20 Haec dicit Dominus:
Si irritum fieri potest pactum meum cum die, et pactum meum
cum nocte,
ut non sit dies et nox in tempore suo:

21 Et pactum meum irritum esse poterit cum David servo meo,
ut non sit ex eo filius qui regnet in throno ejus,
et Levitae et sacerdotes ministri mei:

22 Sicut enumerari non possunt stellae coeli, et metiri arena maris
sic multiplicabo semen David servi mei, et Levitas ministros
meos.

23 Et factum est verbum Domini ad Jeremiam, dicens:

24 Numquid non vidisti quid populus hic locutus sit, dicens:
Duae cognationes, quas elegerat Dominus, abjectae sunt:
et populum meum despexerunt, eo quod non sit ultra gens
coram eis?

25 Haec dicit Dominus:
Si pactum meum inter diem et noctem,
et leges coelo et terrae non posui:

26 equidem et semen Jacob et David servi mei projiciam,

ut non assumam de semine ejus principes seminis Abraham,
et Isaac, et Jacob.

Reducam enim conversionem eorum, et miserebor eis.

I A Messianic Prophecy:

1. Promises perpetuity:
 - a. Of David's kingdom
 - b. Of the Levitical priesthood, (vv. 14-18)
2. As surely as day and night shall continue (vv. 19-22)
3. As surely as day and night have been in the past (vv. 23-26)

II Text transmission of the passage:

1. The passage is present in V (Vulgate) and M (Masoretic Text).
2. The passage is absent in LXX

The first five verses (14-18) promise perpetuity (a) to David's kingdom, (b) to the Levitical priesthood. The following four verses (19-22) say that this promise is as sure as the continuance of the Lord's covenant with day and night. The last four verses repeat emphatically that assurance, but in a fashion that is unique. That promise is not merely as sure as the *continuance* of the Lord's covenant with day and night. It is as sure as the *establishment* of that covenant. Note the contrast. In verse 20: *ut non sit* dies et nox in tempore suo. In verse 25: *Si non posui*. "I will keep My covenant with day and night"—that sentence points to the future. "I have set my covenant with day and night"—that sentence points to the past. "As sure as tomorrow will come" expresses physical certainty. "As sure as yesterday was" expresses metaphysical certainty.

Hence I say our passage is unique. The language of the promise (vv. 14-18), and of the first assurance (19-22), based on the future of day and night, has parallels elsewhere. But in the second assurance, the phrase "if I have not set my covenant between day and night" (v. 25) is without parallel, is a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, in all Scripture.

TEXT HISTORY OF THIS PASSAGE

Our passage is present in V and M. It is absent in LXX. Such in two words is the history of this passage.

To bring out the implications hidden in this rather bald statement, I offer you the experience of a young priest, who recently gave a radio address, wherein he dwelt on our passage as a prophetic painting of the Catholic priesthood and hierarchy.

One statement in his address, otherwise well received, provoked a reply from a Greek priest. Puzzled, the young orator came to me, and through me now comes to you, to beg enlightenment on the text history of this Messianic prophecy. Let us listen while he reads, first his own incriminated page, second, the letter of his Greek correspondent.

THE ORATOR'S PAGE

Twenty-five centuries ago a prophet sat in prison. "Sedecias shall not escape out of the land of the Chaldeans." Thus had he spoken. What he foretold soon came to pass. But truth displeases most those who most need it. When kings are displeased, prophets go to prison.

Prison held the prophet's body but not his soul. From that prison cell came one of the grandest of all prophetic utterances. At a time when Jerusalem was falling, when royalty and priesthood were doomed, the imprisoned prophet, gazing into the remotest future, foretold a Davidic kingship which would never fail, a sacrificing priesthood which would never cease. What he uttered, he wrote down. And what he wrote down you may read today in your Bible. The Bible exists in millions and millions of copies, and each copy carries with it that prison utterance of Jeremias.

The prophecy was uttered and written in Hebrew. A thousand years later it was translated by St. Jerome into Latin. The English version I am going to read to you is a translation from the Latin of St. Jerome. But whatever Bible you have, if you turn to the thirty-third chapter of Jeremias, you may find indeed some differences in language, but no important differences in meaning.

I read to you: From the Prophecy of Jeremias, ch. 33, vv. 14-28.

LETTER FROM GREEK PRIEST TO RADIO ORATOR

Your fine address of yesterday evening suggested to your hearers to follow in their own Bibles that passage you read from Jeremias. I followed your suggestion. Rather I attempted to do so. But of that entire passage, not even one of the thirteen verses you quoted can be found in my edition of the Bible. I hope I am not officious when I suggest that you modify the sweeping statement wherein, equivalently, you challenged the world to show among millions of Bibles one that did not contain that passage you read.

I do not think I am over-severe. I will even suppose you read the passage in your Greek Bible. Loch,⁶ for example, claims to give the Septuagint Greek version. His text is that of the Codex Vaticanus. And where that Codex has lacunae, this edition of Loch still professes to give, in brackets, the Septuagint text, either from the Codex Alexan-

⁶ Loch, *Vetus Testamentum Graece juxta LXX interpretes* (Ratisbonae: 1886).

drinus, or from the great Polyglot Bibles. There⁷ I find the passage you quoted. Do not you Greeks, you may say, use the Septuagint version? I answer that we do use the Septuagint version. But the passage you quoted, while it exists indeed in later Greek versions, does not exist in the Septuagint. You seem surprised. Pardon me, I am surprised at your surprise. The absence of this passage (and of many others) from the Septuagint is a commonplace in biblical literature. Introductions discuss the reasons for its absence.⁸ Commentators ditto.⁹ And since 1890, when the Vatican published a photograph of Codex Marchalianus,¹⁰ the matter would seem to be *causa finita*. In that Codex your passage is relegated to the margin, and assigned, not to LXX, but to Theodotion.¹¹ Theodotion lived in the second century after Christ. The Septuagint was completed long before Christ.

Hence I repeat: This passage cannot be found in genuine editions of the LXX. Just suppose the early Christians, of Corinth say, or Ephesus, had tuned in on your broadcast of yesterday. Like myself, they could scarcely believe their ears. You challenge the world to show one Bible without that passage. They answer that challenge. They bring you the exception. And the exception is their own Bible, the early Christian Bible, the Apostolic Bible.

Here I leave my radio orator and his Greek friend. The orator, though guilty of exaggerated generalization, is right in quoting our passage as a part of the Vulgate, and therefore as authentic. He is right in interpreting the passage as messianic. He is right, therefore, since Christ is the Messias, in understanding the passage as expressing the perpetuity both of the kingdom of Christ, and of the priesthood of that kingdom.

But his Greek friend also is essentially right. What Bible was authentic before the Vulgate came into existence? All tradition answers: The Septuagint. Quoted by the New Testament, expounded by the Fathers, interpreted by the early Councils, the Septuagint (together with the Itala, its translation)

⁷ Ch. 40:14-26. This corresponds to Ch. 33:14-26 in the Hebrew and the Vulgate.

⁸ E.g., Cornely *Libri Introductorii*—CSS (Paris: 1897); Höpfl, *Introductio in Sacros Utriusque Testamenti Libros* (Rome: 1931); Goettsberger, *Einführung in das Alte Testament* (Freiburg: 1928).

⁹ E.g., Condamin, *Le Livre de Jérémie* (Paris: 1920); Noetscher, *Das Buch Jeremias* (Bonn: 1934).

¹⁰ "The liberality of the Vatican has now placed within the reach of all O. T. students a magnificent heliotype of the entire MS., accompanied (in a separate volume) by a commentary from the pen of Ceriani (1890). This gift is only second in importance to that of the photograph of Codex B completed in the same year." Swete, *Introduction to the O. T. in Greek* (Cambridge: 1914), p. 145.

¹¹ Swete, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 and 145.

stands unchallenged as the only authentic form of the Bible in the first four Christian centuries.¹² Authenticity belongs both to the Vulgate and to the Septuagint.¹³

One authentic version, the Vulgate,¹⁴ contains our passage. The other authentic version, the Septuagint, does not contain our passage. Since the Vulgate is authentic, our radio orator, who follows the Latin Rite, is justified in quoting the passage. Since the LXX is authentic, his friend, who follows the Greek Rite, complains justly that the orator knew so little of a version which has been authentic since Christianity began.

CURRENT EXPLANATIONS

My purpose does not call for a complete survey of the theories invoked by scholars to explain either the general divergencies between M and the LXX or the particular divergencies in the case of Jeremias, or even of all pronouncements on the history of our one passage. The few pronouncements, representing various schools, which I now proceed to give, will be found sufficiently typical of the standards now in vogue among text historians.

This particular divergence, then, the presence, that is, of Jeremias 33:14-26, in V and M, and absence of that same passage in the LXX, I find accounted for by one or other of the theories that here follow:

1. The particular Hebrew MS. used by the LXX was defective.¹⁵
2. The passage was translated by the LXX, but lost in subsequent transmission of the LXX text.¹⁶

¹² "Sacrosancta Septuaginta Interpretum Biblia, quibus Ecclesia tum Graeca, tum Latina, iam inde ab apostolorum tempore usa est." Cardinal Antonio Carafa, in the dedicatory letter addressed to Sixtus V. (This letter may be read in the *Editio Sixtina Romana*, or in Swete pp. 174 and 175.) The Cardinal adds that the Pope had done what the Council of Trent had thought of doing.

¹³ Höpfl, *op. cit.*, II, 302.

¹⁴ "Vetus et vulgata editio in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur." Council of Trent, Sessio IV (8 Apr. 1546). D¹³785

¹⁵ Knabenbauer, *Commentarius in Jeremiam Prophetam* (Paris: 1899), *ad locum*.

¹⁶ *Idem, ibid.* Knabenbauer is arguing here against Scholz, who "alone among Catholic interpreters maintains that these verses (Jer. 33:14-26) do not belong to Jeremias."

3. It was omitted because the LXX found in it the same difficulties that modern critics do.¹⁷

4. It was omitted because "the Messianic hope which it emphasizes had less interest for a subject of the Ptolemies than for the Jews of Palestine."¹⁸

Before I pronounce on these explanations, I must first present my own position. Step by step, as I proceed, I shall pause to pronounce on counter-positions.

Two fundamental statements carry the position I defend: The first runs as follows:

FIRST THESIS

At the time when Jeremiah was translated by the LXX, his Hebrew text existed in at least two redactions, one of which was, in size and order, substantially identical with the text that still survives in genuine LXX Mss. This LXX-Hebrew redaction is older than the Massoretic redaction translated in our Vulgate. Proof of this statement:

1. All scholars, to my knowledge, admit the substantial consonantal identity between present day M and the authentic redaction due to the Jewish authorities between 200 B.C. and 100 A.D. The exact date is alone disputed. Ginsburg places the redaction some time not long after 200 B.C.¹⁹ Wutz, quoted by Goettsberger,²⁰ says M was compiled before 100 B.C. Goettsberger²¹ himself claims consonantal identity between M in 100 A.D. and the present M.

2. This M redaction, as I may call it—how was it brought about? Here Goettsberger and Ginsburg agree and disagree. Their disagreement I will touch later. They agree in this: That the M redaction was preceded by a period of great confusion and uncertainty,²² parallel, says Ginsburg, to the state of the English Bible at the commencement of the Reformation. I borrow a passage from his account:

The people were distracted by their rulers, who alternately represented the tenets of Pharisaism and Sadduceeism, each claiming to be the representatives and rightful interpreters of Holy Writ. Alexander

¹⁷ Cornely, *op. cit.*, II, 2, pp. 369 and 373 (note 9).

¹⁸ Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

¹⁹ Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* (London: 1897), p. 303 ff.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 418, n. 5.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 420.

²² Ginsburg, *op. cit.*, p. 304, Goettsberger, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

Janai, a Sadducee, was succeeded by Queen Salome, whose sympathies were with the Pharisees; she again was succeeded by Aristobulus II, a Sadducee; and he again was followed by his brother Hyrkanus II, who favoured the Pharisees. . . . A standard text or version was produced in almost every reign, till at last the recognized authorities fixed upon one which met with general acceptance. . . . This redaction is substantially the same which we now possess.²³

3. Ginsburg says the M redactors were consciously hostile to the LXX (just as they were to the Samaritan Pentateuch). Goettsberger²⁴ says that M is a carefully chosen text, based on all accessible witnesses, including probably the LXX. In either view, LXX is older than M.

4. Our passage has no history in the LXX tradition. It simply never existed in that tradition. Origen put the passage in the LXX column of his Hexapla (or possibly only in his Tetrapla);²⁵ but he marked it with an asterisk and assigned it to Theodotion.²⁶

5. Now some questions that repeat the current theories outlined above. First question: Does not your theory, it will be asked, disregard the results of textual criticism? One defective MS., Hebrew or Greek, one arbitrary translator, one nodding copyist, one self-reliant corrector—these singly or in combination, surely account quite sufficiently for those differences between LXX and Hebrew manuscripts on which you must rest your case.

I answer: All textual variations are important. And their number is legion, both in original and versions. Turn a few pages in the Pentateuch of the Vulgate commission, in the LXX of Swete, in the Hebrew Bible of Ginsburg. The various readings (in small print) occupy, approximately, as much space as the text!

But note that the field of textual variations, however vast, is still restricted. A textual variation presupposes that the two texts, original and copy, are approximately equal in quantity. Qualitative variations in two texts approximately equal in size have alone the right to be called "various readings," if the term is to have a definite meaning. In the passage we are considering

²³ Ginsburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 304, 305.

²⁴ Goettsberger, *op. cit.*, p. 418 and note 4.

²⁵ Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 69 and p. 500 ff.

²⁶ See Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, p. VIII.

(and in many others) we are not dealing with 'various readings.' We are not dealing with two equal quantities. Of the two text forms we are studying, one, the Vulgate, contains our passage, while the other, the LXX, since it has nothing of the passage, not even one verse, not even one single word, can evidently contain not even one variational reading.

Thus much granted, I feel justified in maintaining that, in our passage, variational readings are out of court. The copyist makes mistakes when he copies what lies before him. If nothing lies before him he does not copy, whether correctly or incorrectly. If our passage was absent from the original LXX manuscript, then evidently no copyist ever copied it.

The second question insists: Then we fall back into the category of omissions. "The omissions of the LXX" is a standing phrase in biblical literature. Passages omitted by the LXX must by definition have existed in the Hebrew. Hence the LXX text, far from being an argument for a distinct redaction, emphasizes on the contrary one single Hebrew redaction.

I answer: Assigning a legitimate meaning to the term 'variational reading' has brought us back to the moment when the LXX was given to the world. The word 'omission,' I think, covers, like the word 'textual variant,' two meanings which call for sharp distinction. To omit, taken properly, means purposely to leave out of your copy a passage which stood in the original. If the passage was not in the original, then its absence in your copy is simply an absence. To call that absence an omission is begging the question. Are these absences omissions? That is the question. You beg that question when you ask: Why did the LXX omit all these passages?

6. Now a word on each of the four explanations outlined above. First, a defective Hebrew MS. This position is supported, not by history, but by mere possibility. Again, it does not chime with the universal acclaim extended to the LXX by the Jews, both in Egypt and in Palestine, before that period of anarchy from which M emerged.

Next, a defective MS. in the history of LXX transmission. This position, too, is, at best, not history but possibility. Can we suppose the original LXX MS. existed all alone, unmultiplied, until age or accident made it defective? Wide-spread acceptance implies multiplication of copies. Of all these copies only the one defective copy survived!

All the other theories merely explain why the passage was omitted. But they neglect to prove that it was omitted. History says the passage is absent, not that it was omitted. The road back to the beginning, I verily believe, knows no more effective barrier than the time-honored question-begging phrase "the omissions (and additions) of the LXX."²⁷

SECOND THESIS

LXX				
600	200		200	400
Jer.	M Redaction		Origen	Jerome
				916
				Oldest MS of the prophets

The presence of our passage in M, and its absence in LXX, is due to at least two different collections of genuine prophecies of Jeremias, each containing much in common with the other, but differing in arrangement and quantity. Proof:

1. From the time when Jeremias wrote, or dictated, his prophecies to the time when the LXX-Hebrew was translated was a period of approximately four centuries.²⁸ Coexistent with the LXX-Hebrew was at least one other text-form. If there were many such forms,²⁹ so much the better for my thesis.

2. That coexistent form (or then at least one of the coexistent forms) contained our passage, which the M redactors passed on to our Vulgate. The LXX-Hebrew form did not contain this passage.

3. During those four centuries, our passage did indeed have a history in those MSS. where it existed. In the LXX-Hebrew form, where it was absent, non-existent, it had evidently no history. Hence this absence goes back to the time when the prophecies of Jeremias were collected in the order we still find in the LXX.

4. Similarly its presence in M (and hence in V) goes back to the time when the prophecies were collected in the order we find in M and V.

5. Hence, I repeat, the divergencies between LXX and M go back to two different collections of genuine prophecies of Jeremias.

²⁷ See, e.g., p. 259 in Swete's, *Introd. to the O. T. in Greek*.

²⁸ See Prologue to Ecclus.

²⁹ See Ginsburg and Goettsberger above.

I might pause here. My theme is: "Jeremias as test case in text transmission." Starting back from one passage, absent in LXX, present in V, the only stopping place I find for this absence in LXX is the time when the prophecies of Jeremias were collected in LXX order. This position admitted, what consequences follow for the problem of text-transmission?

1. Jeremias wrote Hebrew. Through Hebrew channels our M-V transmission goes back to 100 A.D., or at best, and with more dubitation, to 200 B.C. Before that time, instead of unity you meet anarchy. What channel shall you follow back to the beginning?

2. The LXX is a translation. That is an immense disadvantage. And all the consequences, first of translation in general, then of the LXX translation in particular, must be met fairly and patiently, down to the last iota. But this disadvantage is offset by an immense advantage. The LXX transmission shows no violent breaks. Its very existence, how much more the tradition behind it, antedates the chaos from which M emerged. Those scholars, and they are many, who doubt the possibility of going back beyond M should close cautiously this road opened by the LXX.

A SUPPOSITION

Here, I say, I might pause. But since this LXX road leads us so near to Jeremias himself, the questioning mind is invited to go back the full distance, to begin with the prophet, to study his mode of writing or dictating, and thus form some picture of his written work, presupposed by the two (or more) collections to which LXX and M, respectively, have led us. I must be brief.

1. The prologue common to LXX and M mentions explicitly that the word of the Lord came to him under three kings, Josias, Joakim, and Sedecias. In the fourth year of Joakim, Jeremias dictated to Baruch (Ch. 36) a collection of the things the Lord had spoken to him until that time (604 B.C.) When Joakim burned that roll, Jeremias redictated to Baruch all the prophecies contained in the burnt roll, "and there were added besides many more words than had been before" (v. 32).

2. This passage is a lighthouse. We should be wrong, certainly, to claim that this collection, as redictated after being

burnt, might underlie the LXX-Hebrew collection, while "the many more words added" would be found in the road that led to M. Neither one nor the other form contained the prophecies spoken by Jeremias from the fourth year of Joakim (604 B.C.) to the end of his life (after 586 B.C.).

3. But the passage does urge us to believe that collections of his prophecies were made at different times, and further, that other words were added to these collections. In other words, Jeremias sanctioned at least two forms of publication, one shorter, one "with words added."

4. Now return to our messianic prophecy in Ch. 33. It is assigned to the tenth year of Sedecias, when Jeremias was in prison. Suppose that Jeremias dictated to Baruch, on one occasion, the first thirteen verses of that chapter. Baruch's copy is taken to friends outside, multiplied, and becomes a source both in the LXX-Hebrew tradition, and in the M-V tradition. Suppose that sometime later during that same imprisonment, Jeremias dictates the last thirteen verses of that chapter, the messianic prophecy which has been our starting point. Baruch's copy, in this case, becomes a source of M, but does not become a source of the LXX.

5. This supposition, I am aware, contradicts a position now widely held, namely, that our passage was never spoken by Jeremias at all.³⁰ Detailed answer would need lengthy commentary. Here I say briefly: The chief argument is again the question-begging phrase "omitted by the LXX."³¹ "Repetitions" are to be expected in a long life of preaching. Far from containing nothing original,³² this passage, as we saw above, is a uniquely formulated messianic prophecy, α ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

Of this supposition, I say, in concluding:

a. It is not gratuitous, but founded on the prophet's own attested habits.

³⁰ Thus Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* (Tübingen, 1922) *ad l.*, p. 817. Cornely (II, 2, p. 373) cites as holding the same view Scholz, Hitzig, Nägelsbach. Noetscher holds this view as the more probable. Condamin (*ad l.*, p. 251) says: "Les raisons apportées contre l'authenticité de ce morceau ne sont pas peremptoires; mais prises dans leur ensemble, elles gardent assez de force pour reduire la conclusion en cette matiere obscure, aux proportions modestes d'une simple probabilité."

³¹ See Cornely, *ibid.*

³² Kautzsch, *ibid.*, and others.

b. It harmonizes perfectly with the results we have reached above in studying the history of text-transmission.

c. Last, not least, it justifies the Catholic position, which maintains that the LXX and the Vulgate, notwithstanding their divergencies, are each authentic. Our supposition justifies that authenticity, not merely in the sense that both versions are safe guides in matters of faith and morals, but also in the deeper sense that each version gives us, with substantial accuracy, the very utterances of the inspired author.³³

PATRICK CUMMINS, O.S.B.

³³ This paper was completed when the current number of *Revue Bénédictine* (LI, Nos. 2-3, Avril-Septembre 1939) came to hand. C. Lambot (p. 109 ff) traces variant readings in *De Civitate Dei* back to St. Augustine himself. And he quotes (p. 140, n. 3) Dom Capelle as favoring a "second edition" of St. Benedict's Rule by St. Benedict himself. All books long in making are likely "to have more words added."

ETYMOLOGY and BIBLICAL USAGE of 'ALMAH

In the past as well as at present both lexicographers and exegetes of liberal tendencies, whether in commentaries on Isaias or St. Matthew, have tried their utmost to weaken the doctrinal value and textual interpretation concerning the virginity of our Blessed Lady. It is not our purpose here to comment upon the various significations proposed by all of these scholars, but solely to restrict ourselves to the philological value, as evinced from secular and biblical sources. For the sake of clarity it will be well to consider first the etymology of the word '*Almah* according to Semitic documents as well as lexicons, and secondly to see whether these conclusions confirm biblical usage.

I THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD 'ALMAH

According to St. Jerome the word '*almah* is derived from a very rare Qal form '*alam*, which means *conceal* or *hide*. Hence the feminine derivative implies not merely a girl or virgin, but it has an added quality, namely a concealed or hidden virgin. A virgin is considered precisely hidden or concealed when she is diligently safeguarded by her parents and is never disclosed to the sight of men. *Bethulah* can be applied to a virgin regardless of age, whether young or old; *na'arah* to a young girl, but '*almah* to a virgin in her girlish years. In the Punic language, which is closely related to the Hebrew, a virgin is similarly called '*almah*.¹

Many scholars have accepted this etymology of St. Jerome; thus, v.g., Pintus (1601), Sanctius (1615), Mariana (1625), Gordonus (1632), Maldonatus (1643), Cornelius a Lapide (after 1616), Sa (1651), Forerius (1660), Vatablus (1695), Clarius (1695), Drusius (1695), Vitringa (1732), Estius (1759), Filion (1884), Wilson (1926).

Though it is true that a virgin in the Orient leads a life of seclusion and is carefully guarded in her relationship with the other sex, yet it remains doubtful whether this is the true etymological meaning. Some exegetes, as L. Reinke² and others, maintain that the passive participle of Qal '*alumah* or the Niphal

¹ *Adv. Jov.* 1, 32 PL 23, 266; *In Isaiam* PL 24, 110 sq.; *Liber quaest. hebr.* in Gen. 24:43 PL 23, 1023 sq.

² *Die Weissagung von der Jungfrau und vom Immanuel* Jes 14-16 (Münster, 1848), 114.

participle *ne'elamah* must be used to signify the meaning "one who is hidden," *abscondita*, *κατάκλειστος* or *ἀπόκρυφος*. Then too no traces of this added meaning appear in the other Semitic languages.

A careful examination of the Semitic documents and lexicons now at our disposal will form a good basis for a fairly accurate appraisal.

EXTRA-BIBLICAL SEMITIC DOCUMENTS

1) Perhaps the earliest known usage of the word *'almah* is to be found in the recently discovered Semitic *tablets of Ras Shamra*, the ancient Ugarit known from Akkadian references. Scholars generally admit that these cuneiform tablets, with an alphabetical system of 30 letters,³ go back to the 14th or 15th century B.C. The word *עלמה* is included in the Glossary of Montgomery-Harris⁴ and is based upon material given by Virolleaud in *Syria*, 14 (1933). Though this Glossary does not give the precise meaning for the feminine form, yet the masculine noun *'elem* is rendered tentatively, though doubtfully (?) by the word *servant*. Schulz⁵ suggests on the basis of the scant material presented that the feminine form means *virgin* as a further specification of the generic *ašt* (woman). However when once the entire text is published the precise meaning can be discovered from the context.

2) In the *Kalamu inscription* of Zendschirli dating to about 825 B.C. line 8 reads, "One gave *עלמה* for a sheep, and a man (*גבר*) for a garment."⁶ Gressmann,⁷ Hehn⁸ and Schulz⁹ render the *'almah* with the word *virgin* (Jungfrau).

3) In the *Aramaic papyri* of the fifth century B.C. the plural masculine *'alimajja* appears in the sense of "lads" (Papyrus K,

³ D. Diringer, *Il nuovo alfabeto e 'lidioma semitico di Râs Šamrah*, *Biblica*, XV (1934), 474.

⁴ James A. Montgomery-Zellig S. Harris, *The Ras Shamra Mythological Texts* (Philadelphia, 1935), 114.

⁵ Alfons Schulz, "Almā," *Biblische Zeitschrift*, XXIII (1935/1936), 230.

⁶ J. Hehn, "Die Inschrift des Königs Kalumu," *Biblische Zeitschrift* X (1912), 118 sq.

⁷ Hugo Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament* (Berlin und Leipzig 1926), 2 Aufl., 442.

⁸ *Op. cit.* 122 sq.

⁹ *Op. cit.* 229 sq.

line 13), and the feminine singular 'alimtha also in the sense of "maid" (Papyrus M b line 6).¹⁰

4) St. Jerome tells us that the Punic language has also a word similar to the Hebrew and signifying *virgin*. Gesenius,¹¹ however, believes that St. Jerome erred and had no knowledge of the Punic language, but that he probably learned the meaning of this word from St. Augustine, who lived in the neighborhood of Carthaginian villages and who in matters of philology cannot be trusted.

This great philologist of the last century too readily and lightly brushes aside the evidence of the great Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar. The great sincerity of this saint, displayed in all his scholarly works, should have been sufficient extrinsic evidence for him.

This same meaning is now confirmed by the *Kition inscription* found on the island of Crete. It belongs to the fourth century B.C. and mentions among the various officials of Astartes *la'almath*. These are understood to be *virgins* or holy maidens.¹²

5) In the Greek-Aramaic bilingual *Palmyrene Tariff* of 137 A.D. this root had undergone a change and its meaning from the context seems to be "slave, harlot." Thus ii a. 1 ff. "From the importers of slaves ('alimajja) who are imported into Tadmor or its borders the [tax collector shall levy] for each person 22 denarii. From a slave ('elem) who . . . for export, 12. From a slave ('elem) veteran who shall be sold. . . 10." Concerning harlots this document says, ii a. 46 ff. "Also the tax collector shall levy from women (*itha*), from one who has taken a denarius [or] more, one denarius from the woman (*itha*), and from one who has taken eight assarii he shall levy eight assarii." Then again in ii c. 26 ff. "The tax of *female slaves* ('alimatha), as I clearly explained the law, the said tax collector shall levy the tax from female slaves ('alimatha) who take a denarius or more, for each woman (*leitha*) a denarius."¹³

¹⁰ Sayce and Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan* (London 1906).

¹¹ *Der Prophet Jesaja*, 2 Th., 1 Abt. (Leipzig, 1821), 298.

¹² *Corpus Inscript. Semit.*, Pars 1, t. 1 (Parisii, 1881) num. 86 B, 9. pp. 97-98: "Hic agitur ut putamus de puellis sacris quae cantando et saltando caerimoniis celebritatem addebant." Cf. also G. A. Cook, *A text-book of North Semitic inscriptions* (Oxford 1903) p. 70 "virgins who sang and danced in the temple rites; cf. Ps. 68:26; Ps. 46; 1 Chron. 15:20."

¹³ G. A. Cook, *ibid.* 313 sqq.

THE LEXICONS

1) In the *New-Hebrew and Chaldaic* languages the masculine and feminine forms appear in the sense of young man and virgin respectively.¹⁴ They are according to Levy derived from the verb 'alam, which signifies: to become strong or powerful. Thus he says: " 'ullem, 'ullema m., 'ullemta f. Jüngling, Jungfrau eig. der, die Kräftige. j. Ber. 11 5 c: Kahana war noch sehr jung ('ullem) als er hierher nach Palästina kam. Pl. m. Genes. r. sct. 79, 77d (Ps. 126:6 auf Jakob gedeutet) er kam beladen mit Jünglingen ('ullemim) und einer Jungfrau ('ullemta)," p. 657. The verb 'alam means: to be strong and virile or robust; Pa. to show oneself to be strong and virile etc.; Itpa. to become strong, to overpower.

2) The Qal of this verb is not found in the *Syriac*. In the Pa. 'alem means: to rejuvenate, make strong, *juvenescere fecit, ad juventutem revocavit, roboravit*. Ethpa. to become mature, to become a young man, *adolevit, juvenis factus est*.

Many nouns are derived from this stem and the signification of youth, adolescence seems to prevail. Thus, v.g., 'ulomo, adolescence or renovation; 'alaimo, young man, adolescent, servant; 'alaimtho, girl, maid servant, virgin. They correspond to the following Greek words of the LXX and New Testament: ἡ νεάνις, a young girl, maiden; ἡ ἄβρα, a woman in waiting; παιδίσκη a young girl, damsel, a maid servant, a young slave; νεανίσκος, young man, youth, servant; νεανίας, young man; νεώτερος, junior. The derivatives are 'alaimono, juvenile; me'almutho, youth, juvenility.¹⁵

3) In the *Arabic* the substantive has the same meaning. Thus the masculine noun *ghulam*, pl. *ghilmatur* is used of a young man, youth, boy or male child from the time of his birth until he attains to the period termed *shabāb*; cf., v.g., Koran Sura 19, 7; 51,28; 52,24. It is likewise used sometimes of a young man, whose moustache is growing forth or has grown forth; likewise of a male servant, hireling or slave. The feminine is sometimes

¹⁴ Gustaf H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud u. Midrasch*, 2 Aufl. (Frankfurt a/Main, 1922), 314, 455; J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches u. Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim u. Midraschim* (Leipzig, 1883), 3 Band, 657.

¹⁵ R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, tom. 2 (Oxonii, 1901), col. 2896-8; J. Brun, *Dictionarium Syriaco-Latinum*, 2 ed. (Beryti, 1911), 443.

called *ghulmatun*. From these forms corresponding diminutives as well as the abstract noun "adolescence" are formed.¹⁶

4) In the *Hebrew* the verb *'alam* in the sense of "to be strong, robust or virile" does not occur in any form, and the masculine noun *'elem*, which is probably derived from this Semitic verb, occurs but twice; namely in 1 Kgs. 17:56 (LXX (A) παιδάριον, a little boy, lad) and 1 Kgs. 20:22 (LXX (B) νεανίσκος, young man, youth). In the former passage King Saul inquires of Abner about David, who had slain Goliath, "Whose son is this young man (*ha'alem*)?" In v. 33 of the same chapter Saul calls David a mere boy (*na'ar*), who will be unable to resist this Philistine, a warrior from his youth.

In the second passage it is used of a young man accompanying Jonathan. This boy is also described as a *na'ar* (20:21,36-41) and a *na'ar qaton* in v. 35.

Hence in the context of both these passages *'elem* and *na'ar* are used synonymously.

The use of the noun *na'ar* is very frequent in the Old Testament; it occurs more than 225 times. It is generally, though not exclusively, applied to a little boy, a young man, a youth, and the LXX translates it 142 times with παιδάριον, 23 times with παιδίον, 21 times with νεανίσκος, and 5 times with νεανίας. It is also applied to an infant to be born, just born or weaned; to Absalom, the rebellious son of David (2 Kgs. 18:5,12), who at that time had three sons and one daughter (2 Kgs. 14:27); to a young servant (Jdgs. 7:10 sq.; 19:3 etc.).

Conclusion. Though the etymology of *na'ar* is uncertain and rarely found in the other Semitic languages, yet it generally serves for a young man even if he is married. Hence it has a wider application than *'elem*. On the other hand *'elem*, though its use is rare in Scripture, signifies a young unmarried man, and therefore implicitly contains the idea of virginity. From this as well as the other Semitic languages it appears that *'almah*, the feminine form of *'elem*, primarily signifies a damsel, a young unmarried girl, an adolescent; consequently the notion of virginity is implicitly included.¹⁷

¹⁶ Ed. Wm. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London-Edinburgh, 1877), 2286 sq.

¹⁷ R. Dick Wilson, "The meaning of 'alma in Isaiah 7:14," in *Princeton Theol. Review*, XXIV (1926), 314: "None of the ancient languages or versions gives an evidence that 'alma ever meant a young married woman."

Just as in our modern languages there appears at times a gradual degradation of a word from its primitive meaning, so too in the Semitic tongues. This is apparent in our word. Thus 'elem an adolescent or young man becomes in the late Aramaic period a young slave; afterwards every slave, and finally a slave veteran (cf. *Palmyrene Tariff*); and 'almah, an adolescent, young girl or virgin, becomes a young slave, then a slave of any age, and finally an infamous slave or harlot (cf. *Palmyrene Tariff*).¹⁸

Some scholars and philologists have tried to prove the derivation of our word from the Arabic. In the Arabic the verb *ghalima* means: he was or became excited by lust or appetite; 4. Excited his lust or appetite. 8. A camel excited by appetite; the sea, it became stirred up, in the state of commotion, its waves dashing together. Even if this were the case, yet it cannot be proved that this word ever applied to a married person.¹⁹ Many authors, however, wish to derive the meaning of 'elem and 'almah from this verb, so that the former would signify a young man whose beard is beginning to grow, and who begins to experience carnal desires; and the latter a young girl above the age of childhood and sexual immaturity, a person of the age at which sexual emotion awakens and becomes potent. Thus, v.g., Gesenius,²⁰ Gray;²¹ cf. also lexicon of Gesenius-Buhl as well as Brown-Driver-Briggs.

Though in Arabic the word is written with Ghain instead of Ain, yet the stem is common with other Semitic languages. Against this etymology of Gesenius and Gray the following reasons can be urged. In the Arabic *ghulam* is also used of an infant: "How can a little boy (infant) be born to me, for I am in old age and my wife is sterile," Koran Sura 3,35; cf. also Sura 19,9. Then too many Arabic words, which in themselves are inoffensive, take on a too realistic and immodest meaning;²² thus, v.g., *chalama* (Hebr. chalam: dream), means he dreamed; experienced an emission of the seminal fluid; properly in dream-

¹⁸ J. Cales, "Le sens de 'Almah en Hebreu," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* (Paris 1910), 162 sq.

¹⁹ Lane, *op. cit.*, 2286.

²⁰ *Der Prophet*, etc., *op. cit.*, 297.

²¹ G. Buchanan Gray, *A critical and exegetical commentary on the Book of Isaiah*, ch. 1-37; in the *International Critical Commentary* (Edinburgh 1921), 126.

²² Cf. Cales *op. cit.*, 164.

ing, and tropically if without dreaming, whether awake or in sleep (cf. Lane). Besides it seems altogether improbable that the Jews should have applied this word to their youth and maidens because of their sexual tendencies and feelings.²³ If the Arabic is excluded, we have no foundation for this meaning in any other Semitic language. Finally the Arabic gives the consequence of this age and does not retain the primitive signification. This is still had in the Aramaic and Chaldaic *'alam*, which means to be strong, robust, virile and from this root our derivatives have been taken.

II THE USAGE OF 'ALMAH IN SACRED SCRIPTURE

'Almah in its various forms appears nine times. *Ha'alma* occurs thrice (Gen. 24:43; Ex. 2:8; Isa. 7:14), *ba'alma* once (Prov. 30:19), *'alamoth* four times (Ps. 46:1; 68:26; C.C. 1:3; 1 Par. 15:20) and *wa'alamoth* once (C.C. 6:8). Let us examine these texts individually for the exact meaning.

a. *Gen. 24*. Abraham commanded his servant (Eliezer?) to go to the home of his relatives in Haran, Mesopotamia, to obtain a wife (*tiqqach iššah*, v. 3: same expression as occurs in the Ras Shamra tablets) for his son Isaac. Having arrived at the well outside the town he describes in his prayer (Gen. 24:12-14) the future wife of Isaac. She is to be the girl (*hanna'arah*, *puella*, *παρθένος* v. 14), etc. At this moment Rebecca came out of the town to draw water and is described by the hagiographer in v. 16 as a very pretty girl (*hanna'arah*, *puella*, *παρθένος*) and a virgin (*bethulah*, *virgo*, *παρθένος*) unknown to man.

The servant's prayer is again repeated before the relatives of Rebecca: "Behold I stand by the well of water, and the virgin (*ha'alma*) who shall come out to draw water, etc." (Gen. 24:43). The various versions render this *'alma* thus: *virgo* (Vulg.), *ἡ παρθένος* (LXX), *ἡ ἀπόκρυφος* (Aquila wrongly as if it is to be derived from verb *'alam* to hide), *עִלְמָתָא* (Targ.), *'alaimto* (Syr), *רַבִּיתָה* (Sam. Pent.), *jarijah* (Arab.).

Since the three words *'alma*, *na'arah* and *bethulah* are translated in this pericope by the same word in the LXX, *παρθένος*, there can be no doubt but that Rebecca was a marriageable young lady and a virgin. At the same time the context seems to imply that *'alma* is equivalent to *na'arah* and *bethulah* combined, i.e., to a young girl, who is also a virgin.

²³ Cf. Reinke *op. cit.*, 117.

b. *Ex. 2:8*. After Jochabed had exposed her three months' old child, Moses, on the banks of the river, his sister Mary stood at a distance to see what would happen to her infant brother. Perchance the daughter of Pharaoh was passing, saw the basket in which young Moses was lying and ordered one of her maids to bring the infant to her. While she was examining the child, Mary approached her and asked whether she did not wish a Hebrew woman to nurse the infant. "And the daughter of Pharaoh said to her: 'Go!' And the girl (*ha'alma*) went and called the mother of the infant."

The various versions render '*alma*' thus: *puella* (Vulg.), ἡ νεάνις (LXX), '*alaimto*' (Syr.), עַלְמָתָא (Sam. Pent.), עַלְמָתָא (Targ.), *jarajah* (Arab.).

In addition to the argument derived from the various versions, it is quite evident that Mary was a young unmarried girl at this time, because she died in the fortieth year of the Exodus (Num. 20:1) and shortly before her brother Moses, who lived to be 120 years old.

c. *Ps. 68:26* (Vulg. 67). We frequently read in the Bible that on occasions of victory or other festivities women sang, danced or played musical instruments. Thus Judith, a widow (LXX *χήρα*), after the decapitation of Holofernes and the flight of the Assyrians, sang a canticle of praise (Jud. 16:1-21). Debhora, a prophetess and wife (*'iššah*, LXX *γυνή*) of Lapidoth, having delivered Israel from Jabin and Sisara, sang a canticle of thanksgiving (Jdgs. 5). Jephthe's daughter, a virgin (*bethulah*, LXX *παρθένος*) greeted with timbrels and dances her father, the conqueror of the Ammonites (Jdgs. 11:34). After the miraculous crossing of the Red Sea, Mary, the sister of Aaron and Moses, and all the women (*kol hannashim*; LXX *πᾶσαι αἱ γυναῖκες*) sang, danced and played on timbrels (Ex. 15:20). After David's victory over Goliath and the Philistines "the women (*hannashim*, LXX *χορεύουσai*) came out of all the cities of Israel singing and dancing to meet Saul (David LXX) with timbrels, songs of joy and cymbals; and the women (*hannashim*, LXX *γυναῖκες*) sung as they played and said: 'Saul slew his thousands, and David his ten thousands'" (1 Kgs. 18:6-7). Since *nashim* and *γυναῖκες* are generic terms, they can be applied to women of any age, whether virgins or married or widows.

In the text, however, which is of interest to us, we read:

"The princes in front, the minstrels behind

In the midst *damsels* playing on timbrels" (Ps. 68:26).

The Psalm records the solemn and historic transference of the ark to Mount Sion. The Hebrew text employs the word *'alamoth*, which specifically refers to youth, and this meaning is entirely supported by the various versions; thus *juvenculae* (Vulg.), *νεάνιδες* (LXX), *'elaimoto* (Syr.). The Chaldaic employs the generic term *neshajja*. "It has occurred to no one yet to think of married women in regard to this passage from the Psalm."²⁴

d. Ps. 46 (Vulg. 45). The inscriptions of some Psalms, expressing perhaps the manner in which they were to be sung, were so obscure at the time of the LXX translators that they were a source of confusion. Many scholars believe that *'al haššeminith* (1 Par. 5:21) signifies that the Psalm is to be sung in the bass, while *'al 'alamoth* in the soprano, or for maidens' voices. In the inscription to Psalm 46 we read: "For the musical director: of the sons of Qorach, a song *in the soprano*." For the Hebrew inscription Aquila correctly translated with ἐπὶ νεοιοτήτων. The LXX interpreted the Hebrew word as ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων = *'alumoth*, and the Vulgate translated this Greek expression as *pro arcanis*. Symmachus thinks the word to be *'olamoth* and translates it as ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰωνίων, i.e., concerning eternal things.

e. 1 Par. 15:20. This is very similar to the preceding inscription. "And Zacharias and Oziel and Semiramoth and Jehiel and Ani and Eliab and Maasias and Banaias sung soprano upon the psalteries." The *'al 'alamoth* of the MT is translated diversely by the various versions: thus in the Vulgate we read *arcana* = *'alumoth*; the LXX translators were puzzled and simply transcribed the word with ἀλαιμῶθ and this seems to have been the case also with Aquila ἀλεμῶθ and Symmachus ἀλεμῶθ.

Since both these verses mentioned in d. and e. are differently rendered by the different versions and the real meaning is still a disputed question and a matter of conjecture—some authors even hold *'al 'alamoth* to denote a musical instrument—nothing for or against the exact use of *'almah* in these passages can be adduced with certainty.

²⁴ Schulz, *op. cit.* 232.

- f. C.C. 1:3 reads: "Thine ointments have a goodly fragrance;
Thy name is as ointment poured forth;
Therefore do *maidens* love thee."

Prescinding from the general interpretation of the Canticle of Canticles it is certain that '*alamoth* here signifies young unmarried girls, who love the bridegroom because of his beauty and excellent qualities. This is also borne out by the various versions: *adolescentulae* (Vulg.), *νεάνιδες* (LXX), *νεάνιδες* (Aquila), '*elaimoto* (Syriac).

- g. C.C. 6:8. The royal bridegroom prefers his young wife to the whole harem of Solomon.

"There are sixty queens,
And eighty concubines,
And *maidens* without number.
My dove, my undefiled, is but one;
She is the only one of her mother;
She is the choice one of her that bore her."
(6:8-9^a; Vulg. 6:7-8^a).

This threefold distinction in the harem is again mentioned in v. 9^b, but *banoth* (*θυγατέρες, filiae*) is substituted for '*alamoth*. There are: 1) *melakoth*, i.e., queens of equal birth to the bridegroom; 2) *pilagshim*, i.e., concubines of inferior birth; 3) '*alamoth*, *νεάνιδες* (LXX), *adolescentulae* (Vulg.), '*elaimoto* (Syriac). The last class comprises young unmarried maidens similar to the virgins (*bethuloth*), who according to Ps. 45 (Vulg. 44): 15 accompany the young queen to the palace of her lord. Hence '*almah* is equivalent to *bethulah* as in Gen. 24.

- h. *Prov. 30:19*. This is one of the most disputed passages for the real signification of '*almah*. To many critics this word in this text means a prostitute, a harlot²⁵ or a young married woman.²⁶ The accurate examination of the text itself will reveal a few important variations.

- 18 "There are three things which are too wonderful for me,
And the fourth I am ignorant of:
19 The way of an eagle in the air;
The way of a serpent upon a rock;
The way of a ship in the midst of the sea;
And the way of a man *with a young woman* (*be'almah*; also Chald., and Sym. *ἐν νεάνιδι*).

²⁵ K. Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Tübingen, 1900), 76; B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Göttingen, 1914), 52.

²⁶ A. Knobel, *Der Prophet Jesaia*, 4 Aufl. (Leipzig, 1872), 68.

- 20 So is the way of an adulterous woman;
 She eats and wipes her mouth,
 And says: 'I have done no wickedness.'"²⁷

LXX Text

- 18 "There are three things impossible for me to understand,
 And the fourth I am ignorant of:
 19 The trace of an eagle flying;
 The ways of a serpent upon rocks;
 The ways of a ship passing through the sea;
 And the ways of a man in (his) youth (*ἐν νεότητι*; Vulg. *adole-*
centia; Syr. *b'alaimuteh*).
 20 So is the way of an adulterous woman;
 Who whenever she does this washes herself
 And says: 'I have done nothing wrong.'"

A twofold explanation of our text is possible; the one by retaining the Massoretic text and in accordance with the meaning and use of *'almah* thus far found; the other by accepting the reading of the LXX.

Should the MT be retained the obvious sense then would be: as there are no traces of an eagle in the air, or of a serpent upon a rock, or of a ship in the sea, so too there is no trace left by a man on a young unmarried girl. She is considered as a chaste young lady and a virgin in the eyes of the world, but in reality she is not. She acts like an adulterous woman, who wishes to wash herself clean from every stain of guilt. This interpretation is given by Vitranga, Calmet, Rosenmueller, Reinke, Kna-benbauer, etc.

If, however, the LXX is preferred,²⁸ which not only antedates the MT but also presupposes here a slightly different and better Hebrew prototype than our Massora, the understanding of our text is greatly simplified. It should be noted that the LXX *ἐν νεότητι* is supported by the Vulgate and Syriac, which ordinarily agree with the Massoretic text. The changing of *בַּעַלְמָה* into *בַּעַלְמָה* is palaeographically explainable. ה could have been easily confused with ו. Without even changing a letter the word also could have been *בַּעַלְמָה* (*ba'alummah*) in youth. The sense then would be: just as the eagle in his flight, the serpent upon rocks, the ships passing through the sea leave no traces behind (cf. Wis. 5:10 sq.), so too a grown up person shows no traces of

²⁷ D. Buzy in *Revue Biblique* 42 (1933), 5-13, takes Prov. 30:20 to be a gloss.

²⁸ Schulz, *op. cit.* 232-239.

what he did in his youth. This also is the case of an adulteress, who in her cunning can cover up her deeds and their possible results under the cloak of her marriage.

Hence it is quite obvious that this passage cannot be employed by the textual critic as an argument for the signification of the word '*almah*.

i. *Isa. 7:14*. Thus far we have seen that the word '*almah* is nowhere in the Bible applied to a young married woman. This meaning is also excluded from the text of the great prophet Isaias by reason of the context as well as by the various versions.

The prophet Isaias strongly urged King Achaz (736-728 B.C.) to become fearless toward his enemies, to remain faithful to and to put his entire trust in Yahweh. The whole universe, heaven and earth, is put at the disposal of the king. Whatever he may ask for will be granted him. The veracity of the prophet's words could be put to a rigid test by a simple request for a miracle. Could God have been more merciful and kind? Could the prophet Isaias have been more fully persuaded of his divine mission?

The king, however, had plans of his own and refused the proffered sign. He had completely lost his faith, embraced idolatry and preferred this crude cult to the divinely revealed worship of Yahweh. Because of his infidelity he rejected the divinely established religion of the Old Testament. He placed his hope no more in the true God of Israel, but in human aid, i.e., in the armies of the Assyrian king, to free him from his two northern enemies. His faith in the divinely instituted order of God's special providence over His people and of the prophet's mission not only to warn the people in time of religious and political dangers but also to give encouragement to the faithful, was of such trifling importance to him, that within a very brief time Achaz externally manifested what he now internally felt: his love for the gods of other nations and his hatred for Yahweh.

The wicked king therefore answered: "I will not tempt the Lord," i.e., I will not put to the test the words of the prophet that Yahweh can perform a miracle. Though Achaz recognized the dignity of the prophetic office and knew that whatever the prophet promised him would surely take place, nevertheless in his hypocrisy he alludes indirectly to the divine precept "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord, thy God" (*Deut. 6:16*).

Thereupon most solemnly Isaias addressed to the house of David and in particular Achaz the words: "Hear, therefore, O house of David! Is it a small thing for you to exhaust the patience of men, that you exhaust the patience of (my) God also? Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign. Behold *the virgin* (*ha'alimah*) shall conceive, and bear a son, and you shall call his name Emmanuel" (7:13-14).

The image of the virgin birth is ideally and vividly before the mind of the prophet. Though the Messiah was promised before, nevertheless this prophetic utterance puts an additional and more determined light upon the revelations already given. Emmanuel, his person as well as his name, is to be a great consolation to the faithful, who will place their trust in him during the storms which are about to come over the kingdom. He alone is their liberator and savior in the imminent struggles (8:8 sq.). It is true that Achaz remains incredulous, but the sign can serve as a motive of faith for him, when he realizes that his Assyrian alliance is for his own and his country's disadvantage and destruction. The name Emmanuel was a bitter rebuke to the king, who was thinking, "The Assyrian is with us."

7:15. Emmanuel ideally present to the mind of the prophet is used as a determination of time for the immediate future danger (cf. 8:8 sq.). This, however, was no indication that his birth was to take place between the time of the prophecy and the Assyrian invasion (cf. 11:1 sq.). Within a few years when Emmanuel knows to choose between good and evil, i.e., when he attains the age of reason, he shall have to eat curds and honey, because the land will be devastated and in great poverty. This is indeed a great threat and punishment for the person of Achaz and the house of David. Had Achaz remained faithful to Yahweh, the house of David would have been secure, and the Messiah from this family would have been born in royal splendor. But because of his incredulity, the Messiah, though from the family of David, would be born in poverty.

7:16-17. Though Achaz may console himself that Syria and Ephraim are to be devastated shortly, nevertheless his hopes are vain. He, his people and the house of his fathers will be severely punished by the Assyrians. They are to be the instruments of God for the punishment of Juda.

God revealed to Isaias the virginal birth of Emmanuel, the Messiah, and his present relationship with the future Assyrian

invasion, as the *terminus ad quem*. Beyond this time the prophet does not wish to speak, nor can he. It is outside of the sphere of his prophetic vision.

The main purpose of the book of Isaias is contained in 1:27 "Sion shall be redeemed in judgment, and they shall bring her back in justice," or in other words, salvation through judgment. This double motive is also contained in our prophecy; for verses 14 and 16 essentially contain a promise, while 15 and 17 a threat of punishment. Hence it appears that our prediction is of a two-fold character.

Not only the context requires some extraordinary phenomenon but also the various versions do not depart from the ordinary biblical usage of the word 'almah. In the Vetus Latina and Vulgate we read *virgo*. The LXX also renders the word with the unambiguous term ἡ παρθένος, which is the same subject for both verbs: i.e., "the virgin shall conceive and as a virgin shall bear a son." All the Greek Fathers have the same reading. Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion render the word with ἡ νεάνις, Targum Jonathan with 'ulemta and the Syriac with *bethulto* (virgin). The definite article in the MT and LXX and the emphatic state in the Syriac are used to denote a single person present in the mind of the prophet.

The signification of virginity in our text is beyond dispute in light of the fulfillment of our prophecy. Such was the authentic interpretation of the divinely inspired writers St. Matthew (1:23) and St. Luke (1:31).

Therefore contrary to the general use of 'almah in Sacred Scripture, its usage in the context and the authentic interpretation in the New Testament, are the opinions of Duhm²⁹ and Marti,³⁰ who assert that the word here signifies any married woman or woman in general; David Kimchi,³¹ who believes that ha'almah is not the mother of Ezechias, but another wife of Achaz; Naegelsbach,³² who goes so far as to declare she is the immoral daughter of the king; Hitzig³³ and Gray,³⁴ who main-

²⁹ *Op. cit.* 50 sq.

³⁰ *Op. cit.* 76.

³¹ *Commentarii in Jesaiam Prophetam* (Florentiae, 1774), 64.

³² Knabenbauer, *Commentarius in Isaiam Prophetam*, 2 ed. (Parisiis, 1923), 202.

³³ *Der Prophet Jesaja* (Heidelberg, 1833), 85.

³⁴ *Op. cit.* 125 sq.

tain that she is the wife of the prophet; Gesenius³⁵ and Knobel,³⁶ who believe that she is the second wife of the prophet.

THE USAGE OF BETHULAH IN SACRED SCRIPTURE

Bethulah occurs 50 times in the Old Testament. It is translated by the LXX 43 times with *παρθένος*, once with *παρθενικός*, once with *ἄφθορος*, twice with *νύμφη*, and thrice it is omitted.

In the Pentateuch this word appears nine times: Gen. 24:16; Ex. 22:15,16; Lev. 21:3,14; Deut. 22:19,23,28; 32:25. It connotes primarily a woman, who is in the state of virginity and unknown to man; cf. Gen. 24:16; Jdgs. 21:12.

The difficulty offered by *νύμφη* in the LXX is not very great. In Jer. 2:32 the subjects should be reversed so that *bethulah* is equivalent to *παρθένος*, and *kallah* to *νύμφη*. For Joel 1:8 the LXX offers a reading slightly different from the MT and which from the context seems to be the original. But if the MT be insisted upon, then one can suppose the *νύμφη* to be an espoused woman, who though the marriage was not yet consummated, was nevertheless according to the juridical effects considered as a bride: cf. Codex Hammurabi n. 130 (*aššatu*); also Strack-Billerbeck 2, 393.

Six times it is further defined by *na'arah* to signify a young virgin, and many times the word stands parallel with young man: cf. 2 Par. 36:17; Jer. 31:13; 51:22 etc.

THE USAGE OF NA'ARAH IN SACRED SCRIPTURE

The use of *na'arah* is more frequent than that of *bethulah*. It appears 63 times. The LXX translates it 20 times with *νεάνις*, 13 times with *κοράσιον*, 10 times with *παῖς*, 5 times with *παρθένος*, 5 times with *ἄβρα*, twice with *παιδίσκη*, once with *γυνή*, once with *παιδίον*, once with *θεράπων*, once with *θεράπαινα*, and thrice it is wanting. It is a common generic term for a woman in her early years regardless of her state.

In the Pentateuch it occurs 24 times. In Deut. 22:1-30 alone it appears 14 times, where it is attributed to a virgin, espoused or not espoused, or even a deflowered girl. Elsewhere in Scripture the word is applied to a young widow (Ruth 2:6; 4:12), a concubine (Jdgs. 19:3 sqq.), or even a prostitute (Am. 2:7).

³⁵ *Op. cit.* 301 sq.

³⁶ *Der Prophet Jesaja*, 4 Aufl. (Leipzig, 1872), 70.

Hence this word necessarily and primarily connotes a girl, who is still young, regardless of her state.

From the preceding pages it seems clear that *'almah in its etymology* shows a relationship to *na'arah* in regard to age, and *implicitly*, though not necessarily, supposes the *state of virginity*, just as *na'arah* also can. Compare, v.g., the German word *Jungfrau* or the English "maiden" or "damsel." Then too *'almah in its usage* is very similar to the Hebrew *bethulah* in regard to state of life, and *explicitly* signifies a *young virgin* of marriageable age. Nowhere in the Hebrew or the other related Semitic languages does it mean a young married woman.

JOHN E. STEINMUELLER, S.T.D., S.S.L.

SOME ENGLISH IDIOMS IN THE ENGLISH BIBLE

The Bible as a whole is admittedly the greatest literature in the world. Although bound in a single book, it is really a divine library embracing a multitude of authors, a vast variety of subjects and of style, and a composition extending over many centuries. It was produced by a people otherwise inconspicuous for intellectual attainments; and yet its literary style, its moral standards, and its spiritual elevation have become at once the ideal and the marvel of mankind.

The literary excellence of the Bible results from the combination of the two essential elements of all great writing, which are loftiness of thought and adequacy of expression. This is the more wonderful in the Bible since its composers were not always men of learning or of special training. They lacked the educational advantages of the other great nations around. But they had what was far better—the inspiration of God. In divine light they clearly saw beyond the limits of time and space the things that pertain to the one true God, to the human soul, and to the spirit world; they vividly perceived their heavenly messages; their wills were moved to make those messages known to mankind; and they were aware of the divine impulse to set down in writing, with apt words and burning phrases, what they had thus so clearly seen and understood. It was not that the sacred writers of our Old and New Testaments intentionally strove for literary effect and excellence—for clarity, power, beauty, sublimity; but rather that, being on fire with their theme and desiring only clearly to reveal to others the glimpses of grace and glory which they had caught, they poured forth a flood of light and warmth which has illumined and invigorated the world for all time to come.

It was Daniel Webster who said that eloquence consists in the occasion, and Demosthenes who made action the essential element of great utterance. But considering the simple grace, the strength, the beauty and sublimity, the charm and fascination of the Book of books, should we not rather say that the secret of true eloquence lies in the conception of high and holy thoughts and in the ability to express them in language best suited to those for whom they are intended? That is what the writers of the

Bible have done, and it is that more than anything else which has given the Sacred Scriptures their perennial power and influence over the minds of men in every age.

Now since all this is so obviously true and so universally admitted, it follows naturally that a translation of the Bible, or any part of it, ought to be the best possible. Translators of the sacred books ought to be at pains to do in their own language what the original writers of those books did in their languages. And to this end they must first strive by all the means available to get the exact meaning of the original writers, and then express that meaning in the best possible way according to the genius of their own tongue. A competent translator must therefore possess two things above all else: a thorough knowledge of the language from which he is translating and an equally thorough knowledge of the language into which he is translating. Lacking either one or both of these two essential requirements, a translator is sure to fail in his work. We all know that the faults of the Greek translation of the Old Testament, called the Septuagint, are mainly due to a want in the translators of a perfect understanding of the Hebrew from which and of the Greek into which they were translating. A good understanding, then, of biblical languages and of one's own language are the necessary tools with which a translator must work.

Most educated persons are often too much inclined to take it for granted that they know their own language perfectly, at least for all practical purposes. They feel that they need no help in a matter so familiar to them. And so it may be. But when there is question of translating so important and momentous a work as the Sacred Scriptures, it becomes necessary that a translator check up his own equipment in general, and in particular that he refresh his knowledge of his mother tongue on certain more difficult points, so as to be reasonably sure of himself before he undertakes his task or has gone too far with it. And it may well be presumed that if a person's knowledge of his own language is weak or deficient in important instances, he is also deficient in his knowledge of the language from which he is translating. If we are not masters of our own tongue, what assurance have we that we know another, strange tongue so well? It is doubtless true that no one ever knows another language as well as he knows his own, unless he has seriously neglected the latter in favor of the former.

IDIOM

If there is one essential element more important than another in any language or translation it is without doubt the use and prevalence of idiom, or of those words and turns of expression that are peculiar to a given tongue, or to different places where the same language is spoken. Without idiom language is hollow and dead, and no one can pretend to a knowledge of a language unless he has a grasp of its idiom. Hence Landor observes that "every good writer has much idiom; it is the life and spirit of language."¹

Idiom means peculiarity, eccentricity in speech as belonging to one language and not found in the same way in any other. It "is the best basis or ground-tissue of plain language; it is preeminently the medium through which cultured and uncultured may feel their common interests and kinship."²

Idioms are more easily felt than described; they are native, rugged, odd, racy-of-the-soil terms and phrases which give strength, energy, and homeliness to a language. As Professor Earle says, it is idiom

that gives to discourse a local and national tint; it is as the perfume of a field after showers in the spring. This it is which gives raciness to the Sagas, and renders them fascinating in spite of their baldness. . . . In the breath of the native idiom there is as it were a moral fragrance, akin to the love of home and domestic faith; it is in discourse what the tenderness of natural piety is in the beauty of human character.³

Idioms therefore cannot be translated literally, or word for word, into another language. They are practically identical with purity in speech; for "purity," says Blair, "is the use of such words and such constructions as belong to the idiom of the language which we speak; in opposition to words and phrases that are imported from other languages, or that are obsolete, or new-coined, or used without proper authority."⁴

Pure or idiomatic words in English are, generally speaking, those of Anglo-Saxon origin, as opposed to those that have come from Latin, Greek, or Hebrew sources. And the principal fountains of English idioms are Shakespeare and the English Bible.

¹ Landor, "Imaginary Conversations," vol. 1, p. 150.

² Genung, "Working Principles of Literature," p. 53.

³ Earle, "English Prose," pp. 304, 308.

⁴ Blair, quoted in "Excellence in English," p. 370.

By "English Bible" we mean here the Douay-Rheims and the King James versions, which were put into English just at the time that our language had reached its full development. Of course many of the words and expressions found in these translations were of Hebrew and Greek origin and idiom, but they have since become idiomatic English. Naturally also the store of English idioms has been greatly increased with the advancing history of the language and its extension into different and far-flung parts of the world.

Idiomatic expressions are such as the following: "You are right," "be at pains," "put up with," "in the long run," "set store by," "get rid of," "speak louder," "work hard," "go slow," "walk faster," "get used to," "where do you come from," etc.

The number of English idioms is very vast, as might be expected from the age and the extraordinary richness of our language. Fortunately we are familiar with a great many of them without being aware of it. We have heard and absorbed them from our earliest years. They are a natural part of all our conversing, reading, and writing. And so a consideration of all English idioms would be out of place and unnecessary here, even if so immense a task were possible. Nor are we concerned here with all the English idioms in our English Bible, which would likewise be unnecessary and too large and too difficult a study. Our only object now is a brief consideration of *some* English idioms which are of frequent occurrence in our Bible, of those, namely, which seem more important and which we see so often misused in the daily papers and in current books and periodicals. We will therefore give attention briefly to six English idioms which have a distinct bearing on an English translation of the Holy Scriptures. These idioms are: the Article, Prepositions, the Possessive Case, the Relative Pronoun, the Subjunctive, Shall and Will, Should and Would in their various forms.

Here again it must be remarked with reference to these idioms that our instinctive and acquired knowledge of our own language can generally be relied upon to guide us aright in their use, and that consequently it is only certain aspects of them which need now elicit our reflection.

It must also be observed as regards these idioms that some of them in themselves are not distinctively English idioms, since they are found in other languages. Thus the Article, Preposi-

tions, the Subjunctive, etc., occur in other languages, ancient and modern; but it is the peculiar English use of these words and expressions in certain relationships that makes them idiomatic for us. For example, there is nothing more common in all languages than prepositions, and yet Logan Pearsall Smith, in his study of English idioms, says that the idiosyncratic use in English, as in other languages, of prepositions is perhaps the most striking illustration of idiom.⁵

Our present consideration of these idioms will not be so difficult as regards the first five. Our chief trouble will be with the last one, which, as being altogether peculiar to the English language, is at once the most complicated and difficult of all our idioms, and the one most frequently misused.

THE ARTICLE

An article is a word put before nouns to limit their signification. In English we have two classes of articles, definite and indefinite, the word *the* being the definite article, and *a* or *an*, the indefinite one. The first denotes some particular thing or things; the second, one of a kind, but no particular one. Thus we have, *the* prophet or prophets, and *a* prophet, *an* Apostle.

We are so habituated to a correct use of these terms that it will be sufficient here to call attention only to a few uses in which errors are sometimes noticed.

First, *a* or *an* should never be so used as to relate or seem to relate to a plural noun; e.g., we should not say: "A mother and child were there," but "A mother and her child were there"; not, "We did not go a great ways," but "We did not go a great way."

Second, when nouns having different modifiers are joined in construction, when nouns are contrasted, or when they have different dependence, the article must be repeated, if used at all; e.g., "Not a word was spoken or *a* sound heard"; "the perfect participle and *the* imperfect tense must not be confused."

Third, when adjectives denoting qualities that belong to different things are connected, the article should be repeated; e.g., "A black and *a* white horse," i.e., two horses; "the Atlantic and *the* Pacific ocean."

⁵ Smith, "Study of English Idioms," tract XII in Society for Pure English, Oxford.

Fourth, when connected adjectives relate to the same thing, the article must not be repeated; e.g., "A black and white horse," i.e., one horse.

Fifth, when no ambiguity results, the modified noun may be pluralized and the articles omitted, after the first one; e.g., "The Old and New Testaments."

Sixth, when two phrases of a sentence have special connection with each other, the article, if used with the first, should be repeated with the second; e.g., "Both the writing and *the* spelling were his."

Seventh, when special correspondence or contrast exists between two adjectives, the article should be repeated and the noun should not be pluralized; e.g., "The first and *the* second edition"; "he reads the Old as well as *the* New Testament."

Eighth, the article *a* or *an* should never be used after *sort*, *kind*, *species*, and words of similar import; e.g., we should say: "That sort of thing"; "that kind of person"; "what manner of man," etc.

The article *the* is regularly required in a frequent construction that consists of a verbal noun ending in *ing*, followed by *of*; but if the preposition *of* is omitted, the article should not be used; e.g., "The reading *of* the Bible is useful"; or "reading the Bible is useful."

The foregoing are some of the uses of English articles in which errors frequently occur. It is neither necessary nor will it be profitable to say more about the subject here.

THE ARTICLE IN THE ENGLISH BIBLE

We purpose to give here a fairly complete treatment of the English idioms discussed. The comments, of course, do not pretend to be exhaustive. Nor need we try to find in the Bible applications of each and all the rules we give under various headings in this paper. It is our aim simply to make the treatment sufficiently round and comprehensive to satisfy all practical requirements of writing in general, so far as these six idioms are concerned, and to cover the different uses of them that will be found in the Sacred Scriptures.

The biblical use of the article, as also of prepositions, in any English translation of the Bible, is to some extent determined by the way that same part of speech is employed in the original

languages of the Bible, although it is well known that articles, like prepositions, have often a peculiar use in Hebrew and Greek which is altogether foreign to English. Moreover, the use of the article, as well as of prepositions, in a translation of the Scriptures is also influenced, in certain passages, by the doctrine involved, as when distinguishing the persons of the Trinity, or stressing the unity of nature in the Godhead, the divinity and Messiahship of Christ, the faith our Lord taught, etc. Nevertheless in translating we need to keep in mind the idiomatic use in English of these otherwise simple forms.

For illustrations of the use of the article we may turn to any page of the Old or the New Testament. But, as the language of the Bible is generally simple, we shall, for the most part, find only the ordinary use of this part of speech. Sometimes, however, our Douay-Rheims is not so accurate in this respect, e.g., in Gen. 1:8,19,23,31, the definite article should qualify "morning" as well as "evening," in order to show that they are distinct parts of a day, as is done in verse 13 of the same chapter, and as is done in each of the verses cited in the Authorized Version. Also in Job 1:8 the indefinite article *an* should modify "upright" as well as "simple," thus avoiding the wrong impression that "simple" and "upright" are one quality of human character.

But on the other hand, we find everywhere in the Bible such exact uses of the article as "*the* gathering together of *the* waters" (Gen. 1:10), "*a* fugitive and *a* vagabond shalt thou be" (Gen. 4:12,14), "*the* male and *the* female" (Gen. 6:19; 7:2), "*the* rising of *the* dawning of *the* day" (Job 3:9), "*the* scribes and *the* Pharisees" (Mk. 2:16), "*to the* showing of *his* justice. . . for *the* showing of *his* justice" (Rom. 3:25,26), etc.

It is not necessary to multiply these examples. Any reader or writer, with the rules that we have given before him, can judge for himself how the article may be correctly or incorrectly employed.

PREPOSITIONS

A preposition is a word used to express some relation of different things or thoughts to each other, and is usually placed before a noun or pronoun. We say "usually," for often it is placed after its subject, as we shall see, contrary to the literal meaning of the word *preposition*, which is from the Latin *prae*, before, and *pono*, place.

Prepositions are neither principal parts of a sentence, nor are they adjuncts. Their whole purpose is to express relationship between an antecedent and an object or consequent. Thus in the sentence, "The Temple was built by Solomon," we have the preposition *by* governing Solomon as its object or consequent and showing the relation between that object or consequent and what precedes the preposition in the sentence, which is its antecedent.

Its antecedent is as necessary to a preposition as its object or consequent, in order to express any completeness of thought. The preposition is as truly a connective as the conjunction. Its least office is to limit the use and relation of the word that follows it. Its chief value is in the connecting of that word with some preceding term, thus binding words together into that unity of thought which makes possible the coherent sentence.⁶

Sometimes two or more words are used as a compound preposition, though they express a single relation; e.g., *according to, as to, as for, because of, out of, from out, from among, from between, over against, with a view to, as far as, in so far as, in so far that, etc.*

In an uninflected language like ours prepositions are ubiquitous, and it is quite impossible to write tolerably without a full knowledge, conscious or unconscious, of their uses. Misuse of them, however, does not often result in what may be called in the fullest sense blunders of syntax, but mostly in offences against idiom. It is often impossible to convince a writer that the preposition he has used is a wrong one, because there is no reason in the nature of things, in logic, or in the principles of universal grammar (whichever way it may be put), why that preposition should not give the desired meaning as clearly as the one that we tell him he should have used. Idioms are special forms of speech that for some reason, often inscrutable, have proved congenial to the instinct of a particular language. To neglect them shows a writer, however good a logician he may be, to be no linguist—condemns him, from that point of view, more clearly than grammatical blunders themselves. But though the subject of prepositions is thus very important, the idioms in which they appear are so multitudinous that it is hopeless to attempt giving more than the scantiest selection; this may at least put writers on their guard. Usages of this sort cannot be acquired from dictionaries and grammars, still less from a treatise like the present, not pretending to be exhaustive; good reading with the idiomatic eye open is essential.⁷

One of the most idiomatic uses of prepositions is in their position at the end of a clause or sentence, and this usage is

⁶ Fernald, "Connectives of English Speech," p. 3.

⁷ Fowler and Fowler, "The King's English" (2^d ed.), p. 161.

found in all our English classics; e.g., from Shakespeare: "There is no better way than that they spoke *of*," "of such contents as you will wonder *at*," "the wine of life is drawn, and the mere lees is left this vault to brag *of*"; from Dickens: "Such kindness as he knows he regards her *with*"; from Franklin: "That is the stuff life is made *of*"; from Browning: "I count life just a stuff to try the soul's strength *on*," etc.⁸

Grammarians and rhetoricians, who are more concerned with grace and elegance of expression than with idiom, have fought this construction, but in vain. The idiom is stronger than all their efforts, and so it persists in the best writers and in our common, everyday speech. It adds virility and vigor to our language, and its persistence shows the strength of forceful idiom.

In the following list we call attention to some wrong uses of prepositions frequently met with even in otherwise good writers:

We should say, unconscious *of*, not unconscious *to*; oblivious *of*, not oblivious *to*; different or differently *from*, not different or differently *to* or *than*; averse or adverse *to*, not averse or adverse *from*; disagree *with*, not disagree *from*; to content oneself *with*, not to content oneself *by*; virtue consists *in*, not virtue consists *of*; endowed *with*, not endowed *by*; to tamper *with*, not to tamper *at*; but to tinker *at*, not to tinker *with*; to acquiesce *in*, not to acquiesce *to*; to take the initiative *in*, not to take the initiative *of*; abhorrence *for* a person, but abhorrence *of* a dreadful thing; we bind *by* a contract, *with* a rope, *in* chains, *under* penalty; we confide *in* a person's honesty, but confide something *to* a person's care; a man dies *of* fever, *by* violence, *for* his country, *to* the world; a person is disappointed *in* love, *at* failure, *of* something hoped for; the soldiers fell *into* confusion, *under* suspicion, *from* grace, *upon* the enemy, etc.

It should be noted also that prepositional usage in English varies not only with time (older usages becoming obsolete), but also with groups and places. Thus seamen speak of being *in* a ship, whereas on land we say one is *on* a ship. American and British usage also differs. Thus in the United States we say one gets *on* and *off* a train, but in England they say that one gets *in* and *out* of a train; in America we say a person is *on* time, in England they say he is *up to* time. All these different usages are correct in their own localities.

⁸ Fernald, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 5.

The foregoing examples of a right and a wrong use, and of different uses of prepositions could be multiplied indefinitely. But those given are sufficient to show how important it is to have an idiomatic knowledge of this subject and to use special care in the employment of this seemingly simple form of our everyday speech.⁹

PREPOSITIONS IN THE ENGLISH BIBLE

Hardly any part of speech is more frequently used than prepositions, and their correct use is highly idiomatic, as we have seen. Prepositions are everywhere in the Bible, as in other writings. But besides their frequency and grammatical importance, prepositions in the Bible, especially in the New Testament, often have great theological importance, as in Jn. 1:1-14; Rom. 1:1-4; 11:36; Gal. 3:1-29; Eph. 1:1-23; 2:4-22; Phil. 2:5-11; Col. 1:1-29; Heb. 1:1-3; 11:1-3, etc.

In his use of prepositions a translator of the Scriptures is assisted much by the presence of the same forms in the original languages, Hebrew and Greek. These can be his guide in a general way. But he needs to be sure that he has their exact equivalent in English and to observe the idiomatic turns and shades of meaning often conveyed by these connectives, as explained above.

THE POSSESSIVE CASE

We are all familiar enough with the nature and purpose of the possessive case. In the first place, we know that it has to do with the ways in which words are inflected or changed in order to indicate possession.

And the methods by which this possession is shown are also simple enough for the most part. For example, singular nouns not ending in *s* are put in the possessive case by adding an apostrophe and an *s* to them; e.g., *boy's* book, *man's* hat, etc.; and singular nouns ending in *s* form their possessive by adding an apostrophe and an *s*, or simply an apostrophe. Thus we may write *Jones's* or *Jones'* book, *Burns's* or *Burns'* poems, *Dickens's* or *Dickens'* works, etc. The apostrophe only is preferred with the singular nouns ending in *s*, or in letters of similar sound, in poetic and reverential context or when the addition of *s* would

⁹ Fowler and Fowler, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 ff.; "International Library of Technology," Grammar, section 19, pp. 75 ff.

be hard to pronounce or unpleasant to the ear; e.g., "Ulysses' wanderings," "for conscience' sake."

With plural nouns ending in *s* the case is different. Then the possessive is always formed by adding an apostrophe only; e.g., *boys' books*, meaning several boys; but when a plural noun does not end in *s*, the possessive is shown by adding both an apostrophe and an *s*; e.g., *men's voices*, *women's clothes*, etc.

We have also in English what is called the double possessive. Thus we say: "Those words *of yours*," "I enjoyed those talks *of John's*," etc.

The possessive form of compound nouns is somewhat more difficult, but the rule is simply to add an apostrophe and an *s* to the last word. This is the rule for both singular and plural possessives; e.g., *mother-in-law's*, or *mothers-in-law's*, the *American Book Company's*, etc. The preferred possessive form of *someone else* is *someone else's*, not *someone's else*.

Since pronouns are words that stand for nouns, they also can indicate ownership. Thus the possessive form of the personal pronouns is: *my*, *mine*; *your*, *yours*; *his*; *her*, *hers*; *its*; *our*, *ours*; *their*, *theirs*; etc. But it must be noted that there is never an apostrophe in the possessive form of any personal pronoun.

Whose is the possessive form of the relative pronoun *who*. The indefinite pronouns, *one*, *one another*, *each other*, *either*, *neither*, are the only pronouns whose possessive requires an apostrophe. Thus we say correctly, *one's life*, *one another's books*, *each other's share*, *either's habits*, *neither's fault*.

There is more difficulty in forming the possessive of nouns or pronouns that modify words ending in *ing*. When such words are preceded by a noun or pronoun, how can we know whether to use the objective or the possessive form of the noun or pronoun? For example, in the sentences, "We saw *him* running"; "we saw *his* running"; "bad weather prevented the *ship's* sailing."

It is clear that the meaning is not the same in these three sentences. In the first one *running* is merely a verbal adjective qualifying *him*. The chief interest, therefore, is in *him*, not in *running*. But in the second and third sentences, *running* and *sailing* are verbal nouns or gerunds, and are the objects of the verbs *saw* and *prevented* respectively. The chief interest here, then, is in *running* and in *sailing*, in the action of someone or

something; and so we have the possessive *his* modifying *running* and the possessive of ship modifying *sailing*.

Our rule therefore about the possessive of nouns or pronouns that precede and modify words ending in *ing* is first to determine the object of principal interest. If we are chiefly interested in the *person* or *thing*, we should use the objective or non-possessive form of the noun or pronoun; but if our chief interest is in the *action* of the person or the thing, we should use the possessive form of the noun or pronoun. In other words, when a word ending in *ing* is used as a substantive, i.e., as a verbal noun or gerund, the noun or pronoun that precedes and modifies it must be in the possessive case; but when the *ing* word is a mere participle or verbal adjective, the noun or pronoun that precedes and modifies it should be in the subjective or objective case, according to the sense, but not in the possessive case. This rather difficult point, then, of deciding the possessives that modify *ing* words is settled by determining whether the main idea concerns the person or thing, or the action of the person or thing. In the event of doubt, with long phrases and compound constructions, the sentence can and should be recast, so as to avoid the difficulty; e.g., "The International Correspondence Schools' system of teaching" would better be recast, "The method of teaching employed by the International Correspondence Schools."¹⁰

As a rule, inanimate objects should not be put in the possessive case; e.g., we should not say, the *house's* roof, but, the roof *of* the house; not the *street's* corner, but the corner *of* the street, etc. But when there is personification or the expression of great energy, notable quality, or importance, the possessive form is correct; e.g., the *sun's* heat, the *ocean's* roar, the *flowers'* fragrance. Furthermore, usage has established the following possessives as idioms: "The *earth's* surface, the *world's* progress, the *sun's* rays, the *water's* edge, a *rope's* end, at *swords'* points, at his *wits'* end, for *pity's* sake, *nature's* plan, the *law's* delay, a *day's* work, their *journey's* end, a *month's* vacation, a *week's* pay, a *moment's* notice, a *stone's* throw, a *dollar's* worth, *today's* paper, etc."¹¹

¹⁰ Fowler and Fowler, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-123; Hunter, "Practical English and Effective Speech," Lesson 11, pp. 3-11.

¹¹ Woods and Stratton, "Blue Book of Good English," p. 92.

THE POSSESSIVE CASE IN THE ENGLISH BIBLE

It has already been observed that, since the language of the Scriptures is for the most part simple, we need not expect to find there the more difficult idiomatic uses of those parts of speech which are found in their own way in the original languages of the Bible and in other languages. Such common parts of speech are the article, prepositions, and the possessive case. Naturally, the possessive frequently occurs in the Sacred Scriptures, but its use is confined to its simpler forms, which are indicated by *of*; by the personal pronouns, *my* and *mine*, *thy* and *thine*, *your* and *yours*, *our* and *ours*, *his*, *her* and *hers*, *its*, *their* and *theirs*, etc.; and by the *apostrophe*, with or without *s*, etc.

Of course a translator who is thoroughly familiar with the idiomatic use of the possessive case, as of other idioms, will be able to give to his expression an amplitude and flexibility which, while keeping to an exact reproduction of the thought of the original, will be rich and luminous, and which, by its suggestiveness and overtone, will discover and reveal to the reader much of the endless freshness and vigor of thought and feeling of which the Scriptures are the divine repository.

The purpose of our study is to help toward this fullness and freshness and power of expression. In our translation, therefore, we need not be restricted to what we now find in existing English versions. We should rather aim at reproducing in our version all that the original languages and our own tongue at its best will permit.

(To be continued)

CHARLES CALLAN, O.P.

THE FUTURE LIFE IN THE PSALMS

There are two features of the Old Testament which are apt to make a striking impression on the Christian reader. It strongly emphasizes the rewards and punishments of this life as motives of human conduct, whilst it alludes with disappointing rarity to moral sanctions in the life beyond the grave. This phenomenon has beguiled both Jewish and Gentile scholars into denying the existence of any belief in immortality in the Old Testament; some Jews even boast that their religion is free from the harrowing anxiety springing from such a doctrine. Much evidence could be adduced from various books of the Old Testament to show that this view is exaggerated and erroneous. But we shall confine our investigation to the psalms. The inspired authors of these lyric poems display an unusually profound appreciation of God and a fine sympathetic insight into the emotions which agitate the human heart in consequence of its relation to God. If men of such high ideals and aspirations manifested hostility or even indifference to this basic question of religion, the sneers directed against the Hebrew religion by some modern critics might not be altogether unjustified.

Do the psalms, then, teach the survival of the soul after death? If so, do they reveal anything concerning its happiness or unhappiness in the next world? Do they anticipate in some way the doctrine of a bodily resurrection which is so characteristic of the New Testament? These are the questions which we propose to answer in our essay.

That the psalmists believed in a survival is strongly suggested by such appellations as "my glory" and "my only good" which some of them bestow upon the soul.¹ They imply an essential superiority of the soul over any other possession of the individual.

But a more conclusive proof of their belief is furnished by their frequent references to Sheol. According to an ancient tradition of the Hebrew people, which may be traced back to the Patriarchs,² Sheol was the realm of the dead or the place where the souls of the departed were congregated. The precise meaning of the word, which is peculiar to the Hebrew language, is still a matter of dispute. It has been derived from the root

¹ Ps. 7:6; 15:9; 29:13.

² Gen. 37:35; 42:38; 44:29,31.

sh'l (inquire) and interpreted as the place of judicial inquiry or judgment upon the dead. But perhaps it means no more than the deep or hollow place. The dead are pictured as going down to Sheol which is thought to be far beneath the earth's surface.³

In agreement with other passages of the Old Testament some of the psalmists paint life in Sheol in bleak and dreary colors. We are told that the dead cannot praise God.⁴ It is even said that God has forgotten them and that they are removed from His hand.⁵ Hence Sheol is termed the land of darkness and oblivion,⁶ the land of silence,⁷ and the region of destruction.⁸ Its inmates are called "Rephaim" languid, powerless beings.⁹

It would be erroneous, however, to suppose that these psalmists deny the existence of all life and activity in Sheol. A careful perusal of their statements reveals the fact that they are considering the soul merely in its relation to its previous life upon earth. Viewed from this standpoint, it is deprived of all its bodily faculties and consequently languid and powerless. Lacking the organs of speech, it cannot praise God as it was wont to do on earth in public and private worship. Being removed from the land of the living, it does not receive the gifts which the divine bounty grants to men here on earth, and so seems to be cut off from His hand. Since Sheol is without the attributes of terrestrial life, it is relatively and comparatively speaking a land of silence, of darkness, and of oblivion. What it is absolutely, without reference to life in the land of Israel, these psalmists evidently do not know and do not venture to define.

There are other psalms, however, which present a more positive and lofty conception of the destiny of man. In the tenth psalm, David, to whom it is attributed, rejects the despairing counsels of his friends on the ground that God, who is just, will destroy the wicked, "whilst the upright shall see His face..." This vision of God has been interpreted to mean that the just will attain an inner consciousness of God so deep that He will seem to be present. But there is nothing in the context forcing

³ 1 Sam. 2:6; 1 Kgs. 2:6; Ps. 54:16.

⁴ Ps. 6:6; 29:10; 87:12; 113:17.

⁵ Ps. 87:6.

⁶ Ps. 87:13.

⁷ Ps. 93:17.

⁸ Prov. 15:11; 27:26; Job. 26:6; 28:22.

⁹ Ps. 87:11; Isa. 14:9.

us to suppose that the vision will be confined to this life. Since the Hebrews believed in the immortality of the soul and the promise is unrestricted, it seems more reasonable to assume that it also applied to the life beyond the grave. Even if the Israelites for a time limited the import of the words to this life, the absolute nature of the promise must have led the more thoughtful among them to a conception of a union not to be interrupted by death.

Similar conclusions follow from Ps. 35 which is also ascribed to David. The poet contrasts the evil principles and conduct of the godless with the divine blessings which the just receive. The chief blessing is intimate association with God, the effect of which the poet describes as follows: "With Thee is the source of life and in Thy light we see light" (v. 10).

The result, therefore, of union with God is life without restriction as to the duration. Everything which verifies the divine idea of true human life will be the possession of the just man. This implies at least spiritual well being in this world as well as such happiness as the soul is capable of enjoying after its separation from the body. The second half of the verse, "In Thy light we see light," expresses the same thought in a somewhat different form. In the light of God's favor, as long as His countenance graciously shines upon us,¹⁰ we receive blessings comparable to light, which is the source of life and gladness.

A clear, unequivocal declaration about the fate of the good and the wicked in the next world is found in Ps. 48. The author is reflecting on the prosperity of the godless in this life and the perplexing problem which this creates for the loyal servants of God who are not so fortunate. He first partially solves the enigma by the consideration that the boastful unrighteous must die and be buried forever despite their wealth and glory. A more complete solution occurs to him when he contrasts the state of the wicked and the just in the realm of the dead:

- v. 15. They are set towards Sheol like a flock, death is their shepherd,
 And the just shall dominate over them.
 In the morning their form shall be consigned to Sheol,
 So that there shall be no place for them.
16. But God will redeem my soul from the power of Sheol,
 For He will take me away.

¹⁰ Num. 6:26.

The poet compares the godless to a flock which is herded into Sheol by death. There the just will celebrate a triumph over them. In the morning of judgment which follows the short night of life, the wicked will become the prey of Sheol so that there will no longer be any place for them upon this earth. But God will not allow the psalmist nor the just, in whose name he speaks, to remain in Sheol. He will take them to Himself. The word used for "take" is the same which is employed in the case of Enoch and Elias whom God took to Himself.¹¹ The implication, therefore, is that the just will enjoy a special communion with God after death and the beatitude which must flow from it.

The problem of evil also forms the theme of Ps. 72 which is attributed to Asaph. The prosperity of the wicked, their pride, the resultant perversion of the people, and the apparent futility of a good life caused the author much mental anguish. He found the solution of his difficulty by comparing the final destiny of the good and the wicked. The latter fall into ruin at death, their destruction being complete and instantaneous, and their passing away like that of a dream. Opposed to their fate is the lot of the just which the author describes in these glowing lines:

23. But I am always with Thee,
Thou dost grasp my right hand,
24. Thou dost guide me by Thy counsel,
And afterwards Thou wilt take me away in honor.
25. Whom else have I in heaven?
And upon earth I have no delight outside of Thee.
26. When my flesh and my heart are wasted away,
Then my protection¹² and my possession will be God for eternity.
27. For behold! only those at a distance from Thee perish,
Thou dost destroy only those who fall away from Thee.
28. As for me, nearness to God is blessedness for me,
I place my trust in the Lord God.

According to the sacred poet the wicked are rejected by God especially in the hour of death. In contrast with this abandonment he possesses a union with God so intimate that God seems to be walking with him through life, grasping his right hand in fatherly love and protection. Not only is he united to God by the wise guidance of divine providence, but he will be so united even "afterwards." This term, which may also be translated, "ultimately," certainly refers to life after death. In this state

¹¹ *Laqah*; Gen. 5:24; 2 Kgs. 2:9-11.

¹² Hebrew has: "protection of my heart." This seems to be a faulty scribal repetition of the first "my heart."

he will be fully possessed by God, as is clear from the verb which is applied to the taking away of Henech and Elias. The state resulting from his being taken by God will be one of honor. How content he may be with his lot both in this and the future life! For in heaven and upon earth there is but one possession which can fully satisfy the yearning of his heart, and that is God. Hence he need not dread disease or mental anguish which may waste away his flesh and silence the beating of his heart, for God will be his protection and possession for all eternity. By reason of his nearness to God, which precludes destruction, he may be full of joy and confidence.

The psalmist, therefore, teaches that sinners incur eternal spiritual ruin, the nature of which he does not determine, and that the righteous will gain unending beatitude in union with the deity after death. The beauty of his thought about the communion with God is unsurpassed in the literature of the Bible.

The idea of future beatitude is proposed in a somewhat novel and arresting form in Ps. 16, which according to the title is Davidic. Confiding in his innocence the author implores God to wreak His vengeance upon ruthless enemies. He himself, however, expects something totally different from God. "As for me," he declares, in the concluding verse, "I may, because of righteousness, see Thy face, on awakening I may sate myself with Thy form."

An awakening from a previous night of sleep cannot be meant since there is no indication that the psalm is a morning or evening prayer. Consequently some think that it signifies a daily morning by morning renewal of the spiritual communion with God which consists in the fact that the righteous man possesses and cherishes God in his heart. But why should this occur only in the morning and not extend throughout the entire day? Why does the psalmist use the strange expression "on awakening," and not the ordinary Hebrew expression for a morning by morning repetition of the same act (*boqer babboqer*)? Why does he expect not merely to see the face of God but even to sate his vision with the form of God? Surely this seems to be more than the ordinary figurative expression for spiritual union with God?

Others think of a night of calamity. But the notion of being asleep amidst tribulation is a strange metaphor and without parallel in the Old Testament.

It is most natural, therefore, to explain the phrase as referring to the awakening from the sleep of death. Hence the psalmist hopes to feast his eyes upon the manifestation of God either after his deliverance from Sheol or more probably after the resuscitation of his body from the dust of the earth.

The doctrine of a bodily resurrection is clearly and indubitably proclaimed in Ps. 15, which is ascribed to David. The author declares that God has ever been not only his Lord but also his highest good. His adhesion to God has been the source of supreme happiness in this life and will lead to still greater rewards in the life to come. The nature of these rewards is depicted in these words:

9. Therefore my heart rejoices and my glory exults,
Yea, even my body shall dwell in security.
10. For Thou wilt not abandon my soul to Sheol,
Thou wilt not permit Thy devoted one to see corruption.
11. Thou wilt make known to me the way to life.
Fullness of joys is in Thy presence,
Delights are in Thy right hand forever.

The poet states that the first outcome of his intimate relationship with God is joy of soul, which he calls his glory. The second consequence is the assurance that even his body will dwell in security. This cannot signify that the living body will be immune from injury. For there is no sign in the poem that the author anticipates any physical peril. The only danger which he apprehends is a temptation to idolatry. Moreover can the body, as contradistinguished from the soul, be said to dwell? Is it not rather the soul which dwells in the body as its earthly abode? For these reasons the dead body reposing in the grave seems to be meant. It dwells in security because it awaits a possible resurrection. This interpretation is confirmed by the statement which follows: "For Thou wilt not abandon my soul to Sheol." It is arbitrary to say with some that this merely expresses preservation from a premature death. The obvious meaning of the words is either that God will not permit the poet to die at all, or that He will not leave his soul in Sheol after it has descended there. Since it is impossible to imagine that the author hopes to escape death, the latter supposition is the only reasonable one. Hence even though the Hebrew word for corruption (*shaheth*) also means pit, we cannot, without contradiction, render the following sentence: "Thou wilt not permit Thy devoted one to see the pit." The word "pit" is a synonym for

Sheol, but the author has already stated that he will descend to Sheol without remaining there permanently. Consequently the psalmist affirms that he will not experience corruption. Since this can refer only to the body, it means either that his body will remain incorrupt, or that it will not suffer dissolution permanently.

After delivering the poet's soul from Sheol and restoring his body, God will show him a new life, the fulness of joy in the presence of God. The psalm, therefore, clearly enunciates the belief in a future resurrection not only of David, but of all the just whom he represents.

It may be argued that this conclusion is too wide, since both St. Peter and St. Paul quote the prophetic part of the psalm as having been fulfilled not in David but in Jesus Christ.¹³ The solution of the difficulty lies in the fact that this portion of the psalm is not exclusively but inclusively Messianic. It applies to all the just, and for this reason in a pre-eminent way to Jesus Christ who is the author, the exemplar, and the goal of all human justice. Consequently it has been fulfilled primarily in Jesus Christ, whose body was not touched by the least breath of decay, and it will be fulfilled, secondarily and in a lesser degree, in David and all the just whom he represents, because their bodies will not be immutably in a state of corruption.

MICHAEL J. GRUENTHANER, S.J.

¹³ Acts 2:25 ff; 13:35 ff.

OBSCURITIES IN THE LATIN PSALTER

V.

25. Psalm 39:7b.

(Tuesday, at Terce.)

Sacrificium et oblationem noluisti: *aures autem perfecisti mihi.*

In Heb. 10:5 the verse is quoted thus: *Hostiam et oblationem noluisti; corpus autem aptasti mihi.* This is taken verbatim from the LXX Psalter, whose second member reads “a body Thou hast prepared for me.”

In TM, on the contrary, we read “ears Thou hast hollowed [formed, made] for me.” So too the Vulgate, the Syriac, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and Jerome from the Hebrew before him—that is, all of the ancient witnesses. Rahlfs’ edition of the LXX ascribes the reading *ὠτία* to the Gallican Psalter, whereas the MSS. of the LXX nowhere seem to vary from *σῶμα*, “body.”

No reasonable emendation of the Hebrew has been proposed to account for this. Schleusner’s *Lexicon* of the LXX, usually so rich in these suggestions, gives up the problem here as merely referable to interpretation. The *apparatus criticus* of Kittel proposes no Hebrew variant. Houbigant’s conjecture (after Grotius) of corruption in the LXX itself has no manuscript authority. Bird, in his argument for “body” as original, exposes its lack of support by failing to name one source that is not directly dependent on the LXX itself. The passage Heb. 10:5 does not, of course, determine the original text in the Psalter. Yet the integrity of its doctrine has been invoked, in spite of the fact that this could be counted on the side of the overwhelming textual consensus in favor of “ears Thou hast hollowed for me.” For the Body of Christ as victim in the all-sufficient sacrifice is even less prominent in the argument of that passage as a whole than the spirit of union with the Father’s will which had sealed from all eternity the sacrificial destiny of that Body.

The Hebrew of our second member, reproduced by the Vulgate, completes the sense in the most natural manner possible. In verses 7-9 the legal sacrifices, “which can never take away sins” (Heb. 10:11), are in antithetic parallel with a perfect obedience which “is better than sacrifice” (1 Kings (Sam.) 15:22) in the sight of God. Perfect and all-sufficient union with the will of God is proved in the ultimate (not only to the Hebrew mind, but to ours as well) by perfect obedience. But in Old Testa-

ment Hebrew the standard expression for "to obey" is simply "to hear." It is one of those natural metaphors which almost attain propriety itself. The verb often accompanies the noun for "ear," the phrase "a hearing ear" (Prov. 20:12; 25:12) being particularly used to signify an obedient disposition, while an "uncircumcised ear" (Jer. 6:10), or a "stopped ear" (Prov. 21:13), or a "heavy ear" (Isa. 6:10) denotes the contrary. In the classical text 1 Kings 15:22 we read (verbally) "To hear is better than sacrifice." Going even further, the noun, "ear" itself (of other radicals than the common verb "to hear") gives birth to a denominative verb of its own, which again is often used to mean "obey."

In the light of this idiom, the daring metaphor "Thou hast hollowed ears for me" is a most emphatic way of saying "Thou hast destined me to do Thy pleasure in full." The same antithetic parallel in the verses next following carries the same thought a step further by expounding it more concretely.

26. Psalm 39:13b.

(Tuesday, at Terce).

Comprehenderunt me iniquitates meae, et *non potui ut viderem*.

No question attaches to the text of this passage, which is clear enough in itself and uniform in the best sources. Explanation will be matter of exegesis. Although the Psalm is messianic, *iniquitates* faithfully renders a Hebrew word invariably denoting moral guilt. We cannot take it as "my wrongs" or "injuries;" it is simply "my misdeeds." If the Psalmist has just furnished the New Testament with an avowal of personal consecration worthy of the lips of Christ, he must now acknowledge some straying from his mission. Any type falls short of the divine antitype. In his historical sense we must leave the writer to his own conscience thus candidly revealed. However, the typical sense (Bi. Ni.) may point to one vicariously "overtaken" by the sins of others, and claiming them as His in so far as they are His to take away.

The second member of the verse seems both stilted and without sequence. In Jerome's version, however, the stiffness of the language vanishes in the simpler construction *non potui videre*, which is also that of LXX and TM. In the latter both finite verbs are in the perfect. The infinitive is clearly *videre* in all the sources, so that Kittel's proposal to alter "see" to

"bear" by changing one consonant is textually arbitrary. Interpretation alone can determine.

One possibility is to take the statement as strictly preterite: "My iniquities overtook me, and I could not see." This might express an extenuating plea that conscience had for a time lost sight of its aim among the mists of strong temptation. Again, with the first verb as a true perfect, the second may be present in effect: "My iniquities have overtaken me, and I have not been able to see," nor yet am able of myself. Confused, downcast, perhaps even despondent about the past, he cannot for the present see his way to restoration. His very "heart has forsaken" him (13d). Yet a third explanation is "I cannot see (them all); they are more numerous than the hairs of my head," etc. (13c). Zorell so emphasizes this connection as to translate "If I could see (them) they would be more numerous," etc. But this robs of its vigor and directness the independent sentence "I cannot (or could not) see," besides destroying the metrical balance of the clauses. One would prefer either of the two former explanations.

27. Psalm 40:4b.

(Tuesday, at Sext.)

Dominus opem ferat illi super lectum doloris ejus: *universum stratum ejus versasti* in infirmitate ejus.

Stratum is the rug or thin mattress (Mt. 9:7; Jn. 5:8) on which an invalid or sleeper lay. To "turn over wholly" such a bed from time to time would ease the sufferer by presenting a cooler surface and smoothing out wrinkles. God's retributive care of the charitable is either besought or foretold under this metaphor of intimate ministration. All that hinders is the tense of *versasti* as compared with *ferat*. However, if the latter be not jussive in the Hebrew, but future indicative expressing a prediction, the second verb may very well be a "prophetic perfect," as Driver¹ has taken it, and thus equivalent to *versabis*, addressed, of course, to God.

28. Psalm 40:7c-8a.

(Tuesday, at Sext.)

Egrediebatur foras, et loquebatur, (8) *in idipsum*. Adversum me susurrabant omnes inimici mei.

The undivided *loquebatur in idipsum* of the Roman Breviary

¹ *The Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, 3d ed., 1892, p. 19.

creates the trouble. A division intervenes, as above, in the Vulgate editions of Vigouroux, Fillion, Hetzenauer, Gramatica. Apart from punctuation, this same division of the verses appears in printed editions of LXX and TM. Verse 8 would thus begin "Together against me do all my enemies whisper." Verse 7 then ends with *loquebatur*, which, however, as well as *egrediebatur*, expresses habitual conduct in present rather than past time. Even in the Psalmist's sickness, his enemy

- (7a) "if he comes in to see, talks vainly;
- (b) his heart gathers evil for him,
- (c) he goes outside, he utters (it)."

In idipsum ("together") thus belongs to what follows—unless, indeed, it makes the two actions of 7c virtually simultaneous, as "he goes outside and utters it at once." And in fact the Hebrew adverb could thus conclude the former sentence without violence to syntax or order of words, as several passages show. But the division first proposed is generally favored by commentators, as also by well edited texts.

29. Psalm 40:9b.

(Tuesday, at Sext.)

Verbum iniquum constituerunt adversum me: *Numquid qui dormit non adjiciet ut resurgat?*

The text appears intact in substance, the only difficulty being the involved question which forms the second member. The LXX is responsible for making it interrogative at all. TM exhibits a simple statement, and is supported by Jerome's version *Qui dormivit non addet ut resurgat*. Of course the last (negative) clause is the familiar Hebrew idiom "will not add to rise" for "will not rise again." *Dormit*, as usual in the Vulgate, renders a verb meaning merely "die down" or "take to bed" without affirming actual sleep.² Its present tense well renders the Hebrew perfect of this verb, since to "have lain down" is to be now lying down. But the interrogative form of the second member should be simply disregarded. What the "heart" of the defamer had "gathered for him" (7b above) at the sick man's bedside—the thought to which his wish was father—now appears as the *verbum iniquum* "He who has taken to bed will not get up again."

² So e.g. in Ps. 4:9; see Vol. I, p. 248, of this *Quarterly*.

Another rendering of TM makes the whole of Verse 9 pertain to the harmful rumor. But the Latin as it stands is defensible, and need not be further deranged.

30. Psalm 41:7c.

(Tuesday, at Sext.)

Ad meipsum anima mea conturbata est: propterea memor ero tui de terra Jordanis, *et Hermoniim a monte modico*.

The Psalm, as is well known, comprises two strophes (marked by the refrain *Quare tristis es*, etc.), to which the now separate *Judica me, Deus*, originally added a third. Throughout runs the single theme of a devout wanderer's ardent longing for the House of Yahweh. TM, LXX, Vulgate, and Jerome fully agree in the text of Verse 7. But the unvocalized Hebrew was open to early misinterpretation, and error of this class often began with the LXX. *Hermoniim* imitates the latter's Ἑρμωνίειμ, whereas the Hebrew consonants leave no place for the double vowel of the termination, and Jerome correctly writes *Hermonim* instead.

Explanation of this key word may suffer indirectly from a mistake in its construction. Except in Symmachus and the Peshiṭta, it is not governed by "from." Yet many (Bo. Fi. Ho. Ni.) take *terra Jordanis*, *Hermoniim*, and *monte modico* as three designations of locality in the same construction—from each place in turn the wanderer has thought of Yahweh. Both the parallel structure and the disjunctive accentuation of TM oppose this grouping (Zo.), and make *Hermoniim* a second object, correlative with *tui*, of the principal verb *memor ero* (which in Hebrew is transitive). Yahweh Himself is remembered from the land of Jordan, and "Hermoniim" from *monte modico*. Case termination fails to show this in Latin and Greek, where "Hermoniim" is treated as indeclinable, and may or may not share the genitive with "tui." But the traditional arrangement of the Hebrew text, and the absence of "from" before the difficult name in the most important ancient sources, clearly show the construction just proposed. "Hermoniim," however to be explained, is another object of the Psalmist's longing memories, not another place which has served to elicit them. Bird rightly allows this in his translation, though his preferred explanation of the Hebrew name itself as an abbreviated conflation of two other place-names appears rather far fetched, and is certainly complicated.

Mons modicus is variously explained. The unmodified noun can mean "hill" as well as properly "mountain." Some regard the qualifying adjective as a proper name, reading "mountain (or hill) of Miṣ'ar." But since this would have the radical meaning "small, insignificant, inconsiderable," the distinction matters little. The spot is "a lowly hill," or perhaps (Zo.) the whole region of "low hill-country" enclosing the *terra Jordanis* itself.

From this point the exile remembers "Hermoniim." The Hebrew consonants permit a regular plural form of "Hermon," the name of one of the loftiest peaks known to the Old Testament. "The Hermons" might perhaps be best explained by Robinson's suggestion of three distinct peaks known to antiquity and sometimes bearing separate names. But in either number the reading "Hermon" puzzles us to explain what appeal to the heart of a devout Israelite the Syrian mountain could ever have had, that it should merit this close comparison with Israel's very God.

We prefer Zorell's inference of a single *hapax legomenon* in the original Hebrew having nothing to do with the familiar name of Hermon. The radicals ḥ-r-m express a "gemeinsemitisch" idea of "devoting, secluding, consecrating." In biblical Hebrew itself they form a verb meaning to "anathematize" (devote to execration or "tabu"). They give us "sanctuary" in Arabic, and "shrine" in Ethiopic. Hence "Hermoniim" may be a corruption of an earlier Hebrew noun (not otherwise known, however) in the plural, and may serve to yield the sense

"Therefore I remember Thee from the land of Jordan,
and the sacred places from a lowly hill."

To be continued.

W. H. MCCLELLAN, S.J.

PROBLEMS OF BIBLE REVISION

A SUGGESTION FROM AUSTRALIA

In reference to the Revision of St. John's Gospel which you kindly sent me for comment, may I suggest one change—namely, that the vocative *γύναι* be translated "lady," not "woman," at least in the two passages (2:4 and 19:26) in which our Lord addresses His Mother?

That the term *γύναι* in these passages is one of respect is admitted by all, Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Thus:

Westcott (on Jn. 2:4): "There is not the least tinge of reproof or of severity in the term. The address is that of courteous respect, even of tenderness."

Plummer (Cambridge Greek N.T.): "'Woman' of course implies no rebuke. The Greek might more fairly be rendered 'lady.'"

Bloomfield (Jn. 4:21): "*γύναι* occurs (in the Classics) as a term of respect or of courtesy or even affection or kindness."

And so *Liddell and Scott*: "a term of respect or affection."

Now I submit that the word "woman" in modern English, used vocatively, does not convey this note of "respectful address," but the contrary. The Oxford Dictionary says that "Woman," as a mode of address, is now used "derogatively or jocularly." It cites an illustration: Sala (1860): "Will you hold your tongue, woman?"

What young man—unless he means to be disrespectful—would address his mother as "woman"? Whereas if in a moment of deep feeling or emotion he addressed her as "lady" or "dear lady," who would think it strange?

Hence "lady" seems to be the word that suggests most accurately the meaning of *γύναι* as a term of respectful address.

As confirmation I note that careful translators of the Classics use "lady" to render *γύναι* in passages where the speaker intends to show respect, affection or devotion. I give a few examples:

Xenophon (Cyrop., 5.1.6). An officer of Cyrus, addressing a Susian captive whom Cyrus wished to treat with respect says: *θάρρει ὦ γύναι*, Take comfort, lady (Dakyns).

Euripides (who uses *γύναι* frequently). *Iphigenia at Aulis* (1621): Agamemnon to Clytemnestra: "Lady (*γύναι*), we have much cause to think ourselves blessed" (Potter).

Homer (Odys. 19:107). Odysseus addresses his wife Penelope who does not recognize him: "Lady (*γύναι*), no one of mortals . . . could find fault with thee" (Murray in Loeb edition: Butcher and Lang).

Since then "lady" is an English term expressing affectionate respect, whilst "woman" as a mode of address implies rather rebuke or familiarity, surely the former should be used to translate *γύναι* when employed by our Lord to His Mother.

I would even suggest its use in other passages in the New Testament where *γύναι* is used with the same connotation of respect or veneration, as in Jn. 20:13,15 ("Lady, why weepst thou?").

ALBERT POWER, S.J.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CORNER

HITTITES (Hethites)

Boghazkeui, the site of the ancient Hittite capital Hattusha, lies in the bend of the Halys River, about ninety miles east of Angora, the present capital of Turkey. Here in 1906-7 and 1911-12, Prof. Hugo Winckler of Berlin unearthed the royal Hittite archives, consisting of ten thousand or more clay tablets in cuneiform. Such as contained Sumerian and Akkadian texts were read without much difficulty, but the bulk of the tablets remained a linguistic puzzle for several years. Evidently, the cuneiform script had been adapted to some native language or languages.

After the death of Prof. Winckler in 1913, the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, which had sponsored the excavations, entrusted the tablets to a group of Assyriologists for deciphering. Prof. Frederic Hrozný of the University of Vienna (now of the Czech University of Prague) reached a solution in 1915, and since then there has been steady progress in the understanding of the language and civilization of the Hittite peoples. Hrozný identified most of the forms in the official language, and established its basic Indo-European character in spite of some of its non-Indo-European elements.

The language was that of the ruling class, an Indo-European group of people who had invaded the country of the Hatti along the Halys River about the twentieth century B.C. Gradually these invaders extended their domination over most of Asia Minor and the adjacent regions to the southeast. They were sufficiently powerful by the middle of the eighteenth century B.C. to send successful expeditions against Aleppo and Babylon. It may have been the impact of these Hittite expeditions from across the Taurus Mountains into northern Syria and Mesopotamia, which started mixed groups of Hurrians, Semites and other elements to migrate southward. The so-called Hyksos, who invaded the Delta of the Nile about this time, may have been one such group.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C., Shuppiluliuma built up a mighty Hittite empire of allied states, which during the next two hundred years vied with Egypt and Assyria for political and economic domination in the Near East. It was broken up about 1190 B.C. by an invasion of the "Sea People." Out of the wreckage of the empire arose a number of small Hittite states, which struggled along for several centuries more. The "Land of Hatti" was now northern Syria, where most of the remaining Hittites were concentrated. Carchemish, the last of these Hittite states, was overturned by Sargon II of Assyria in 717 B.C., and the Hittites disappeared from history.

The original Hatti of the Halys River region, whose name had been appropriated by their Indo-European conquerors, spoke a non-Indo-European, non-Semitic tongue. This was established independently by Hrozný and Forrer in 1920. In the tablets, the language of the native population is called Hattic or Khattish. The official language, which had been brought in by the Indo-European conquerors, is simply called "our language," and for want of any better designation, it is now called Hittite. The native Hattic language is sometimes referred to as Proto-Hittite.

Hurrian and Luwian texts have also been found among the Boghazkeui tablets, and there are indications of another language or two, still to be identified. Hurrian, according to the present evidence, appears to be a non-Indo-European, non-Semitic language, but unrelated to Hattic. Luwian seems to be an Indo-European tongue akin to the official Hittite. The cuneiform script in which all these languages were written was probably learnt from Assyrian merchants who we now know maintained trading centers in the Hittite country as early as the twenty-first century B.C.

In addition to cuneiform Hittite, there is also a strange writing found on monuments, seals, and lead strips. It is called hieroglyphic Hittite, and consists of strange symbols written boustrophedon, that is, alternately left-right and right-left, or *vice versa*. Although this hieroglyphic Hittite has been known to scholars for nearly a century, it still remains undeciphered. Recently Hrozný, Gelb, Forrer, Meriggi and others have aroused hope that a solution of this vexing problem is near. With the Egyptian hieroglyphs there seems to be no connection, but some resemblances have been noted with the Cypriote syllabary system and with the Cretan pictographs. There are about 220 signs, of which (according to Gelb) 57 are phonetic complements and the rest ideograms. Matters may be complicated by the presence of several languages as was the case with the cuneiform Hittite. Those who may be interested in linguistic "detective" work, and the method of approach used in a problem of this kind, will find Gelb's *Hittite Hieroglyphs* (University of Chicago Press) of service.

There are a number of scattered references to the Hittites in the Old Testament. Thus Abraham, on the death of his wife Sara, negotiated with some Hittites at Hebron for a burial place, and obtained the double cave (Machpelah) near Mambre. The purchase price was four hundred sicles of silver by weight, and the transaction took place according to custom, in an assembly of Hittites at the gates of Hebron (Gen. 23:2-20). Esau married two Hittite women, who wearied Isaac and Rebecca so much that their other son Jacob was sent to seek a wife among his kindred in Mesopotamia of Syria (Gen. 27:46-28:5).

Evidently, the Hittites had gained a footing in the land of Chanaan, as they are listed among the seven nations whom the Israelites were to destroy utterly on entering the land (Deut. 7:1-5). The Israelites, however, established themselves among these peoples, intermarried with them, and assimilated their customs (Jdgs. 3:5-7). Achimelech and Urias, trusted officers in David's army, were Hittites, and it was with Bethsabée, the wife of Urias that David sinned (2 Kgs. 11:2 ff). King Solomon had Hittite women in his harem (3 Kgs. 11:1), and like the Kings of the Hittites and Syrians, traded in horses (3 Kgs. 10:29). To carry on his extensive building operations, Solomon finally reduced the Hittites and other non-Israelitic peoples in his Kingdom to bondage (3 Kgs. 9:20-21). The Hittite element in the population persisted several centuries, and even after the Exile, Esdras still spoke of their abominations (Esdr. 9:1). Referring to the mixed strain among the Hebrews, Ezechiel speaks of Jerusalem as having an Amorite for a father, and a Hittite for a mother (Ez. 16:3,45).

EDWARD A. CERNY, S.S.

BIBLICAL NEWS

THIRD GENERAL MEETING OF THE CATHOLIC BIBLICAL ASSOCIATION
Cincinnati, Ohio, November 4 and 5, 1939

THE REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY

The annual general meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association of America under the patronage of His Excellency, the Most Reverend John T. McNicholas, O.P., S.T.M., Archbishop of Cincinnati, took place in Parlor I on the fourth floor of the Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio, on Saturday November 4, and Sunday November 5, 1939.

The following officers of the Catholic Biblical Association were present: The Very Reverend John McHugh, O.P., President; the Reverends Donat Poulet, O.M.I., Vice-president; Edward H. Donzé, S.M., General Secretary; Mark Kennedy, O.F.M., Recording Secretary; John Steinmueller, Treasurer; the Very Reverend Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M., Consultor; the Reverends Cyril Gaul, O.S.B., Editor; Raymond Stoll, Edward Mangan, C.S.S.R., Associate Editors; Charles Pickar, O.S.A., Librarian. The Reverend Edward Arbez, S.S., Consultor, expressed his regrets at not being able to attend in person. The Chairman of the Episcopal Committee on the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, His Excellency the Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara, D.D., Bishop of Kansas City, graciously consented to occupy the chair on several occasions. At all other times the Very Reverend John McHugh, O.P., presided.

In the name of the Most Reverend John G. Murray, S.T.D., Archbishop of Saint Paul, who was to have presided at this session and that of the Most Reverend John T. McNicholas, O.P., S.T.M., Archbishop of Cincinnati and host to the Association, Bishop O'Hara expressed the high appreciation of these two prelates for the work that was being done and extended their regrets at not being able to attend in person.

At 10:00 A.M. on Saturday, November 4, the general meeting was called to order by the President, Very Rev. John McHugh, O.P. The Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara opened the session with prayer invoking the aid of the Holy Ghost. His presence and words lent encouragement to all in their efforts.

Before the reading of the papers scheduled for this the first session, registration for all the members present took place. The list of members present follows:

Bayer, Robert, O.M.C. Carey, Ohio	Considine, J. S., O.P. River Forest, Ill.	De Guglielmo, A., O.F.M. Lowell, Mass.
Byrne, Edward J. Rochester, N. Y.	Costello, C. J., O.M.I. Washington, D.C.	DeVine, C. F., C.S.S.R. Woodstock, Ontario
Callan, Charles J., O.P. Hawthorne, N. Y.	Cotter, A. C., S.J. Weston, Mass.	Donzé, Edward H., S.M. Washington, D. C.
Coleran, James E., S.J. Weston, Mass.	Cummins, Patrick, O.S.B. Conception, Mo.	Dougherty, J. J. Darlington, N. J.

Gaul, Cyril, O.S.B.	Mallon, Vincent, M.M.	Resch, Peter A., S.M.
St. Meinrad, Ind.	Clarks Summit, Pa.	Kirkwood, Mo.
Grimmelsman, Henry J.	Mangan, E. A., C.S.S.R.	Seraphine, E., O.F.M.
(Rt. Rev.)	Oconomowoc, Wis.	Croghan, N. Y.
Worthington, Ohio	Meyer, Albert G.	Shine, William A.
Gruenthaner, M. J., S.J.	St. Francis, Wis.	Cincinnati, Ohio
St. Mary's, Kans.	Metzler, Rupert M.	Singleton, Francis X.
Guilfoyle, Charles, C.P.	Covington, Ky.	Clovis, Calif. (Fresno.)
Cincinnati, Ohio	Mollaun, R., O.F.M.	Siegman, E. F., C.P.P.S.
Hartdegen, S., O.F.M.	Oldenburg, Ind.	Carthage, Ohio
Washington, D. C.	Murphy, R. T., O.P.	Skehan, Patrick W.
Hanley, John G.	Washington, D. C.	Washington, D. C.
Trenton, Ontario	McClellan, W. H., S.J.	Smith, Eustace, O.F.M.
Hertvik, W., O.M.C.	Woodstock, Md.	St. Bonaventure, N. Y.
Carey, Ohio	McGlynn, F. H., C.S.Sp.	Smyth, Kevin, O.M.CAP.
Heupler, C. G., O.M.CAP.	Ferndale, Conn.	Marathon, Wis.
Washington, D. C.	McHugh, John A., O.P.	Stapleton, Matthew P.
Hodous, Edward J., S.J.	Hawthorne, N. Y.	Brighton, Mass.
West Baden, Ind.	McNamara, Elmer A.	Steinmueller, John E.
Hofer, Maurice A.	Rochester, N. Y.	Huntington, L. I., N. Y.
Worthington, Ohio	Newton, William L.	Stenz, John B.
Kennedy, Mark, O.F.M.	Washington, D. C.	Cincinnati, Ohio
Washington, D. C.	Pickar, C. H., O.S.A.	Stoll, Raymond F.
Kronlage, Camillus, C.P.	Washington, D. C.	Cincinnati, Ohio
Louisville, Ky.	Plassmann, T., O.F.M.	Thuis, Columban, O.S.B.,
Kugelman, Richard, C.P.	St. Bonaventure, N. Y.	Rt. Rev.
Baltimore, Md.	Poulet, Donat, O.M.I.	St. Benedict, La.
Kutchera, Alvin	Ottawa, Canada	Yungfleisch, Simon, C.P.
Madison, Wis.	Reilly, W. Stephen, S.S.	Union City, N. J.
Le Houllier, A., O.M.I.	Baltimore, Md.	
So. Natick, Mass.		

The following are the titles of the papers read at the morning session:

The Criterion of New Testament Inspiration, Reverend Kevin Smyth, O.M.Cap.; Discussion Leader, Reverend Anthony C. Cotter, S.J.

The Nature of the Priestly Vocation from the New Testament, Reverend John G. Hanley; Discussion Leader, Reverend W. Stephen Reilly, S.S.

Papal Directions for Teaching of Scripture in the Seminary, Reverend William L. Newton; Discussion Leader, Reverend Cyril Gaul, O.S.B.

At twelve noon on Saturday, November 4, 1939, the first session recessed to take luncheon which was served in the same parlor. This luncheon partook of the nature of a social function for the members who renewed old and contracted new associations.

At two-thirty in the afternoon of Saturday the second session was called to order. In the absence of His Excellency the Most Reverend John T. McNicholas, O.P., Archbishop of Cincinnati, who was unavoidably detained elsewhere, the Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara of Kansas City presided.

The titles of the papers read at this session follow:

Jeremias as Test Case in Text Transmission, Reverend Patrick Cummins, O.S.B.; Discussion Leader, Rt. Rev. Henry J. Grimmelsman.

Some English Idioms in the English Bible, Very Reverend Charles J. Callan, O.P.; Discussion Leader, Reverend John F. Rowan, by proxy.

The Origins of Old Testament Sacrifice, Reverend James E. Coleran, S.J.; Discussion Leader, Very Reverend John A. McHugh, O.P.

The discussion carried on in a friendly and scholarly fashion elicited the admiration of all, especially of His Excellency the Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara chairman of the Episcopal Committee on the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine.

The Saturday afternoon session, November 4, 1939, was brought to a close by the election of officers. Father Matthew P. Stapleton of the Nominating Committee prefaced the nominations with a few remarks reminding the body of electors consisting of all the members present that anyone individually was entitled to propose a nomination from the floor. The following were proposed and unanimously elected:

President: The Reverend Joseph L. Lilly, C.M., of St. Thomas' Seminary, Denver, Colorado.

Vice-president: The Reverend Myles M. McAndrew, S.S., of St. Patrick's Seminary, Menlo Park, California.

General Secretary: The Reverend Edward Donzé, S.M., of the Marist College and the Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

Recording Secretary: The Reverend Charles J. Costello, O.M.I., of the Oblate Scholasticate, Washington, D. C.

Treasurer: The Reverend John Steinmueller, of the Seminary of the Immaculate Conception, Huntington, L. I., New York.

Editor: The Reverend Cyril Gaul, O.S.B., of Saint Meinrad Seminary, Saint Meinrad, Ind.

Associate Editors: The Reverend Edward J. Hodous, S.J., West Baden College, West Baden, Ind., and the Reverend Charles F. DeVine, C.S.S.R., of St. Alphonsus Seminary, Woodstock, Ontario, Canada.

Librarian: The Reverend Charles Pickar, O.S.A., of the Augustinian College, Washington, D. C.

Nominating Committee: The Reverend Simon Yungfleisch, C.P., of St. Michael's Monastery, Union City, New Jersey, Chairman; the Reverend Aloys H. Dirksen, C.P.P.S., of St. Joseph's College, Collegeville, Indiana (for one year); the Reverend Patrick Cummins, O.S.B., of Conception Abbey, Conception, Mo. (for two years.); the Reverend John G. Hanley, of St. Peter's Church, Trenton, Ontario, Canada (for two years).

This session was closed Saturday evening, November 4, 1939, about five o'clock, with the election of officers and with a call to the Boards

of Revisors of both Testaments with their Editors and the Editors of *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* to meet on Sunday morning, November 5, at nine o'clock, in the same hall.

On Sunday morning, November 5, at nine o'clock, in Parlor I of the Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, as pre-arranged, the Board of Revisors of both the Old and the New Testament and the respective Editors of all departments met in joint session under the presidency of His Excellency the Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara, D.D., Bishop of Kansas City.

This session closed about a quarter to eleven to enable the members to attend the Solemn Pontifical Mass in the beautiful new cathedral of St. Monica in Cincinnati sung by a choir of three hundred and seventy voices at eleven A.M., November 5. The Archbishop of Cincinnati, His Excellency, the Most Reverend John T. McNicholas, O.P., S.T.M., presided at the throne. The Pontifical Mass was celebrated by His Excellency, the Most Reverend George J. Rehring, S.T.D., Auxiliary Bishop of Cincinnati. The preacher of the occasion was His Excellency, the Most Reverend Francis J. Spellman, D.D., Archbishop of New York.

At two o'clock on Sunday afternoon, November 5, 1939, the members of the Catholic Biblical Association of America assembled in the Lecture Room adjoining Parlor I, fourth floor of the Netherland Plaza, to hear the presidential address of the Very Reverend John A. McHugh, O.P., the retiring president, and to conduct the business meeting attendant on the general meeting. His Excellency, the Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara, Bishop of Kansas City, presided at this final session.

The President of the Association, the Very Reverend John A. McHugh, O.P., S.T.M., was pleased to point with pride to the completion of the first year of our publication, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, and to the near publication of the revised New Testament. Harking back in his address to the twin sources of Revelation, Tradition and the Sacred Scriptures, he pointed out how Tradition and that Apostolic under the guidance of the infallible Magisterium of the Church handed down to us the Sacred Writings. It was his wish that our English speaking people would once more, now as in the past, become great lovers and readers of the Written Word of God. He reminded all present how it was the wish of the Fathers of the Council of Baltimore for every Catholic home to possess a copy of the Bible—a need which our Association hopes to fill in due time.

Following this address the agenda on the list called for the reports of the various departments.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY: The Reverend Edward Donzé, S.M., as General Secretary of the Biblical Association, submitted his

report to the assembled members. He first read the messages of the Bishops commending the work of the Association. Then he informed the members of the acceptance by telegram of the office of President by the Very Reverend Joseph L. Lilly, C.M. Great applause greeted the Bishops' encouraging messages and this announcement of acceptance.

In his report Father Donzé stressed the increase in membership this year (total number of members 602) due, in his estimation, to personal contacts. There are now, to date, one hundred and fifty active members. Seventy members of the hierarchy are enrolled among the patrons, life members, and associate members.

On reading the list of new active members selected by the Membership Committee, as required by the by-laws, the General Secretary moved that all on the list be accepted. This motion was seconded and passed unanimously. On explaining that there were a few whose credentials were not yet examined and on a motion put forward by the Reverend Edward J. Byrne which was seconded and passed, the General Secretary was authorized to accept these proposed members, should their credentials warrant it.

In the midst of this report His Excellency, the Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara, D.D., Bishop of Kansas City, whose presence was demanded elsewhere, arose and in the name of the Episcopal Committee on the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine presented photostatic copies of the Carafa Codex to the revisors. He expressed the approval of all the Bishops for the splendid work both of the Association as such and for the labors of its members who were revising the Bible. A rising vote of thanks was given to His Excellency on his concluding remarks.

The General Secretary then stressed an appeal for new members in order to carry on the work. He sought suggestions for the Program Committee. Father McClellan suggested sending out small folders describing the Quarterly as an effective means of bringing it to the notice of scholars and the public—a suggestion favorably received by the General Secretary and the members. With a word of exhortation Father Donzé concluded his report.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER: The Reverend John E. Steinmueller, Treasurer of the Association, submitted an account in full of the credits and debits of the organization for the fiscal year October 1, 1938, to November 1, 1939. This account which is on file showed a working balance of about \$1,000.00 with a reserve fund drawn from patrons to the amount of about \$2,000.00 which is to be set aside as a Trust Fund.

To have an ever ready system of accounting at hand, Father Steinmueller proposed a resolution which was seconded and passed, namely: Resolved that the Association authorize the Treasurer. Father Stein-

mueller, to deposit the funds of the Association with the Huntington Bank of Huntington, L. I., New York, with powers of drawing cheques on the aforesaid Bank. The resolution as drawn up was to be signed for the bank files by the General Secretary, Reverend Edward Donzé, who was authorized so to do.

THE CATHOLIC BIBLICAL QUARTERLY DISCUSSED: The next topic of discussion on the agenda was *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*. Father Donzé reported that to secure the privileges of second class mail for the Quarterly, the Government insisted on a split fee for membership apart from the subscription price. This raised a discussion.

After discussing the proper ratio for the division between membership fee and subscription price, a resolution was offered by Father Donzé as follows: Resolved that the subscription rates be lower than that of membership dues. This motion was seconded and passed. A list of the associate members is to be published.

The question of offering a lower subscription price to students was placed before the house. A motion was made by Father Pickar to appoint Fathers Donzé, Gaul, McClellan, Steinmueller, and Reilly as a committee to settle the price question. This motion was seconded and passed approving thereby the above mentioned committee.

The matter of exchanges came up for discussion too.

PROJECTED WORK—Translation of Foreign Books; Preparation of Commentaries: The last item listed for the business session fell under the heading of projected work. a.) Father Steinmueller gave a report on certain offers advanced by a German publishing company to translate some German works. This offer did not materialize though the members showed a willingness for this work. b.) Father Pickar explained the questionnaire sent out to members on the matter of scientific commentaries as being in line with Prospects of the Association from the beginning. (Cfr. The pamphlet entitled "The Catholic Biblical Association of America" of January 1938. Page 12.) Twenty-six members answered. This question of scientific commentaries independent of the revised version and its accompanying volume of practical commentaries brought forth various opinions from the floor. Fathers Callan, McClellan, Newton, Plassmann, Skehan, Reilly, and Cummins gave their opinions. Finally a resolution was moved by Father Skehan as follows: Resolved that the members assembled go on record as generally disposed to further this project of scientific commentaries. This motion was seconded and passed.

AMENDMENT TO THE BY-LAWS: Looking ahead to possible vacancies in office, the Reverend Edward J. Byrne offered a resolution to take care of such eventualities. This resolution was placed before the floor in the absence of Fathr Byrne by Father Costello. Subsequent dis-

cussions by Fathers McClellan and Plassmann led to the modification of the resolution as follows: Resolved that in case of vacancy of office, the Executive Board shall elect a member to fill the vacancy. This resolution was seconded and passed unanimously.

Concerning the place and time of the next general meeting it was unanimously resolved that the determination of the place and time for the next general meeting be placed in the hands of the Executive Board.

As there were no further suggestions from the floor, it was resolved to bring the general meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association of America at the Netherland Plaza, Cincinnati, Ohio, held on November 4 and 5, 1939, to a close.

MARK KENNEDY, O.F.M.
Recording Secretary

The Revision of the New Testament is rapidly nearing completion. At the present time the printer's proofs are circulating among the revisors and the Editorial Board for the final editing. In view of the work accomplished, it is very likely that the Revision will be published in the early fall.

As the Catholic University of America brought to a close its golden jubilee year, November 11, 1939, singular honors were paid to Msgr. Henri Hyvernât, S.T.D., Litt.D. Msgr. Hyvernât is the last survivor of the original faculty of the University, established in Washington, D. C., November 11, 1889. During the past fifty years he has been professor of Biblical Archaeology and the Semitic and Egyptian languages. It is chiefly due to his efforts that the University's Library possesses one of the most outstanding collections of books on biblical and oriental literature in this country. Dr. Hyvernât is well known for his important contributions to scientific periodicals.

BOOK REVIEWS

EDMUND F. SUTCLIFFE, S.J., *A Two Year Public Ministry* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1938). Pp. 170. 7s. 6d.

The Public Life of Christ: Did it last one year, two years or three years? Fr. Sutcliffe, following the lines of Holzmeister's *Chronologia Vitae Christi*, clearly points out that the early Fathers were not unanimous with regard to this question and some can be found advocating this or that period. "There was no tradition in the early Church about the length of the Ministry, about the age of Christ at His death, about the year of His death," because, "the interest of the early Christians was almost entirely concentrated on the supernatural and religious interest in the life of Christ" (p. 46). In the absence of a clear tradition, therefore, we are forced to limit our examination to the evidence deduced from the Four Gospels.

The one-year theory, Fr. Sutcliffe correctly points out, is untenable (pp. 17-49), chiefly because the reading *the Pasch* in Jn. 6:4 is genuine and supported by the manuscript tradition.

The three-year theory is supported by two principal arguments. The first presupposes an intermediate Pasch between Jn. 4:35 and 6:4. This Pasch either is to be identified with the unnamed feast of Jn. 5:1 or at least is implied by it. The second argument for this unmentioned Pasch is based upon the series of events occurring between the plucking of the ears of corn in Mark (2:23 ff.) or Luke (6:1 ff.) and the feeding of the five thousand (Mk. 6:30 ff.; Lk. 9:10 ff.; also Jn. 6:1 ff.). Fr. Sutcliffe rejects both arguments (pp. 70-72).

The two-year theory advocated by this book is based upon two principal arguments. First, our present arrangement of the Johannine text is erroneous and due to a mechanical dislocation. By presupposing the following arrangement 4:34-54; 6:1-72; 5:1-47; 7:1 ff. the narrative runs "more smoothly, gives it greater point, removes existing difficulties" (p. 84). Incidentally the same may be said of Jn. 18 (pp. 98-104) where another dislocation took place. The arrangement should be 18:13,24,14-23. Since, however, both patristic and scriptural witnesses support the traditional order, this dislocation or "misplacement must go back to the very archetype of the Fourth Gospel" (p. 93), which possibly and probably "was issued from the first in codex form" (p. 96). Thus then the Judean ministry lasted about nine months (p. 120) and Jn. 4:35 was uttered about the end of December or the beginning of January (p. 129). Hence the first stage of the Galilean ministry lasted about three and one-half months and fell in the year 29 A.D. (p. 137). This time is sufficient for the various missionary expeditions recorded in the Synoptic Gospels (p. 137 ff.) and was brought to an end by the miracle of the feeding of the five thou-

sand recorded by all four Evangelists about the feast of the Pasch (Jn. 6:4), which is to be identified with *the* feast mentioned in Jn. 5:1 (p. 90 ff.). The second argument tries to show that this conclusion is not out of harmony with the Synoptists, and chiefly St. Luke, who does not follow the chronological but rather the logical order (pp. 74, 106-110).

The two principal arguments proposed by Fr. Sutcliffe for the two-year theory are unconvincing. 1) The dislocation of the Johannine texts rests upon too many possibilities or probabilities to warrant the rejection of the earliest and unanimous patristic and scriptural text. The identity of a (*the*) feast of Jn. 5:1 with the Pasch (6:4) by rearrangement of the texts may remove the exegetical difficulty of the unnamed feast, but it does not solve it. 2) To presuppose that St. Luke in general is merely following the logical order of events is unproved. The only legitimate case that may be cited is 3:20 where the Evangelist himself, as St. Augustine argues, "acted by anticipation" and the very context plainly shows this. The other Lucan difficulties have been fully treated by Hetzenauer in his book, *De Annis Magisterii Publici Jesu Christi* (Romae, 1921), pp. 41-57. Then too no mention is made of the phrase "second first Sabbath" (Lk. 6:1) and its possible implication with this intermediate Pasch.

JOHN E. STEINMUELLER

JAMES T. SHOTWELL, *The History of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939). Pp. xii, 407. \$3.75.

In this first volume the author takes up the study of historical events and their interpretation from early Egyptian times to the death of St. Augustine. Between these two extremities are included chapters on Jewish, Greek, Roman History, and Christianity and History. The introductory chapters discuss such questions as: 1. Definition and Scope of History; 2. The Interpretation of History; 3. Prehistory—Myth and Legend; 4. Books and Writing; 5. The Measuring of Time. In all, the material covered is quite extensive; the style throughout is simple and clear. Unfortunately, however, there are several points which scholars and particularly Catholic scholars will not accept without serious question.

The author's treatise on the meaning of history and its interpretation sets forth the principle to be used in the interpretation of the events discussed in this volume. He reviews the mythological, theological, philosophical, materialistic, and economic interpretations of history. His treatment of them is excellent. Each interpretation is weighed and, as was to be expected, found wanting. None of them offers an adequate explanation of facts, their origin, and influence upon

human conduct. The author goes on to say then that there must be an historical interpretation of interpretations themselves (p. 35), which for the most part is merely concerned with the material and psychical, with little or no attention paid to ultimate realities. But do these two factors alone explain history? Can history afford to neglect the conclusions of philosophy and theology? We do not think so.

History is indeed a human product. But if it is to be interpreted accurately and justly, the existence of God and His providence must be considered; if it is to be interpreted properly, man's free will and the existence of evil in the world must be taken into account. To say that "the Christian historian was not free to question the data as presented to him, since the source was inspired," is putting the matter rather strongly. For the Christian historian who believes in a divine revelation founded upon positive and firm arguments, there can be no room for doubt or freedom of interpretation. But, as long as the matter is not entirely clear or settled, the historian is at liberty to propose solutions which are in conformity with the inspired and revealed source. Moreover, there is no need of resorting to the evolutionary concept of religion to explain, for example, the culture and religion of the Old Testament.

Recent archaeological research shows that the religion of primitive people was not a progressive evolution from animism to polytheism and monotheism. Originally, the primitive tribes professed a true monotheism which in the course of time was transformed into polytheism and other degenerate forms of worship. The modern historian never seriously considers the myths and legends of such people in their true light as so many corruptions of the original divine revelation.

Regarding the Old Testament the author observes: "It was not until its exceptional and sacred character was denied that it could be appraised by the standards of history and its value as a repository of national, if not of world, story be fairly appreciated" (p. 108). The author accepts unquestioningly and without restrictions the principles and methods of modern higher criticism:

The most important service, however, which higher criticism has rendered the Old Testament, is that it has allowed us to distinguish the validity of different parts, to detect the naive folk tale in which Jahveh and the patriarchs meet at the old hill sanctuaries and the late priestly narrative reconstructing the whole in terms of the temple at Jerusalem. The final passages are no longer involved in the fate of the rest. It is therefore possible to appreciate the genuine achievements of the chief historians of Israel for the first time (p. 109).

Such hypercritical methods are applied to all the books of the Old Testament, and they are of course unacceptable to Catholics.

CHARLES H. PICKAR, O.S.A.

G. CAMPBELL MORGAN, D.D., *The Bible 400 Years after 1538* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company). Pp. ix, 159. \$1.50.

The reason for Dr. Morgan's latest work was the celebration of the "four hundredth anniversary of the day when the Bible was chained in the churches that the people might read it." The author confesses that "there is very little that is new in this book, except the verbalism." Be that as it may, the book affords pleasant reading. Among several praiseworthy features, it treats of the study, unity, authority, and usefulness of the Bible. In particular there is an earnest appeal for a sincere and more intelligent understanding of the sacred text which has weathered the storm of conflicting opinions hurled against it by the so-called modern school of biblical criticism. The author realizes that the neophyte will encounter obscurities and difficulties, but constant reading of the Bible will gradually clarify the text till at last its truth and forcefulness will be manifested.

In studying the Bible external aids should not be neglected. Modern translations have contributed a great deal towards a better understanding of the Bible. However, these should be selected with a view to their orthodoxy and the traditional teaching of the Church on the inspired word of God. Regarding such translations, the author makes the excellent observation:

If the work of translation is done by a committee, devout, saintly, scholarly, they check each other, and the result is more likely to be a correct translation than the work of any one man, however great, saintly, and scholarly he may be. Illustrations might be given to show how the bias of a translator has affected his work, innocently and honestly, it may be, but quite definitely (p. 39-40).

In passing it might be noted that the Catholic Biblical Association of America adopted this method in 1936 in preparing its revision of the Old and New Testaments.

These and similar features manifest the author's approach to the Bible. It is hoped that other non-Catholics will follow his example and return the Bible to the lofty position it enjoyed before the rise of rationalism and its hypercritical analysis of the sacred text.

CHARLES H. PICKAR, O.S.A.

SIGMUND FREUD, *Moses and Monotheism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939). Pp. 218, \$3.00.

The thesis of Dr. Freud's book is briefly as follows. Moses was an Egyptian, a follower of Ikhnaton. When the monotheistic reforms of that famous Pharaoh collapsed at his death, Moses turned to the Hebrews, gave them a monotheistic religion and led them out of Egypt. At Kadesh the Hebrews revolted and killed Moses. (A modification of

the theory made public by Dr. Ernst Sellin in *Mose und seine Bedeutung für die israelitisch-jüdische Religionsgeschichte*. Leipzig, 1922.) Moses, a Midianite, introduced to them the terrible volcanic god, Yahweh. Due to the Levites (who were Egyptian followers of Moses) a fusion of the two religions took place. But somehow the pure monotheism remained latent in the nation to spring into life with the great prophets.

The second part of the book develops Freud's ideas on the origins of religion and its growth up to Christian times.

As an exposition of Freud's thought, the book may interest his admirers; as a *factual* contribution to Scripture studies it has little to offer. Freud's injection of the psychoanalytic method into the question does not bring any light, since it, also, is too subjective. Two statements (out of many) will show that the author was aware of the subjectivity of his work. The first is found in the foot note on page 37:

When I use Biblical tradition here in such an autocratic and arbitrary way, draw on it for confirmation whenever it is convenient, and dismiss its evidence without scruple when it contradicts my conclusions, I know full well that I am exposing myself to severe criticism concerning my method and that I weaken the force of my proofs.

Again on page 207, defending his basing so much of his theory on Robertson Smith's totem theory of the origin of religion, he says:

I have often been vehemently reproached for not changing my opinions in later editions of my book (*Totem and Taboo*) since more recent ethnologists have without exception discarded Robertson Smith's theories and have in part replaced them by others which differ extensively. . . . Contradiction is not always refutation; a new theory does not necessarily denote progress. Above all, however, I am not an ethnologist, but a psychoanalyst. It is my good right to select from ethnological data what would serve me for my analytic work.

With one statement in the above quotation the reviewer agrees: "A new theory does not necessarily denote progress." It applies most aptly to Dr. Freud's book.

JAMES A. COLERAN, S.J.

STEPHAN L. CAIGER, B.D., *Archaeology and the new Testament*. With 8 half-tone plates and 2 maps in text. (London: Cassell, 1939). Pp. 194 with Chronological Table and Index.

Stephan L. Caiger, a lecturer at the Training College, Derby, England, gives us an interesting and popular book on *Archaeology and the New Testament*. Within the compass of 185 pages, the author treats of a great variety of subjects in a way that would interest the beginner and the average man. The author's reliance on Ramsay and Deissmann make the book valuable. The presentation of difficult material in attractive form is the chief merit of this work. Although the author

is not Catholic, still there are not many passages in the book that would shock a Catholic. After expressing doubt about some relic or site, the author generally winds up by saying that it is probably authentic after all. Best use of this work would be in study clubs or convert instructions, because the author brings quite an amount of archaeological proof for the correctness of the narrations in the New Testament. The author knows he must be cautious because an archaeologist cannot always demand some physical proof for a thing in every generation. Tradition is to be reckoned with since sites of great events are not quickly blotted out of living memory.

As an example of the confirmation of St. Luke's accuracy, Ramsay found that Iconium belonged to Lycaonia both before and after the period of St. Paul, yet when the Apostle preached there, the city belonged to Phrygia and thus St. Luke could write (Acts 14:6) that the Apostles fled from Iconium to cities of Lycaonia (p. 124). Other such confirmations by means of archaeological discoveries are on, e.g., pp. 125, 127, 130, 133. Concluding the chapters on the ancient cities and places the author writes, "Few indeed of the actual stones on which he (Paul) walked, or the marbles on which he looked, have survived the stress of the centuries in any recognizable form. Yet our survey of the remains has, in its cumulative effect, enabled us to reconstruct some sort of a picture of the world in which he lived, and to visualize the physical background of the scene in which the infant Church struggled towards its adolescence" (p. 134). This is the service we expect of archaeology in regard to the New Testament.

The author devotes 50 pages to the evidence of the inscriptions, the papyri and early Christian documents. He brings forth plausible arguments for the accuracy of the Nativity census in St. Luke's Gospel. Quirinius was twice in authority over Syria, both in B.C. and A.D. The second census of Augustus was the first taken up by Quirinius. If we allow that it lasted a few years, perhaps Christ was born about 5 B.C. In 6 A.D. Quirinius was again Governor of Syria and then took up a second census, which however was only local and not imperial and universal. Thus Lk. 2:2 may be understood as being the first enrollment made by the Governor Quirinius.

The author has some fine material in defense of Koine Greek (pp. 161-165). There are good examples of New Testament parallels regarding social conditions on pp. 165-172. But we cannot agree with the author's remarks about Anti-Christ on p. 171.

The chapter on fragments of the Bible found on the papyri is short but well done. Regarding lost and apocryphal Gospels as well as the so-called "Sayings of Jesus" the author brings forth a few evidences of the papyri. As to whether these "Sayings" are actually of Our Lord the author states: "It is impossible to be sure. But on this at

any rate we can build, that the writers of our canonical four Gospels have included within them all the Sayings of Jesus which are really necessary to salvation" (p. 185).

CUTHBERT GUMBINGER, O.M.CAP.

H. V. MORTON, *Through Lands of the Bible* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1938). Pp. ix, 400.

The past year has seen the publication of another book of travels in Bible lands by the English journalist, Henry Vollam Morton. That this work like its two predecessors (*In the Steps of the Master*, and *In the Steps of St. Paul*, 1936) should be popular is not strange; for with almost thirty years experience in select newspapers work its author undoubtedly knows the mind of the reading public. Mr. Morton entered journalism on the staff of the *Birmingham Gazette and Express* in 1910, becoming assistant editor in 1912. He served his country during the war, and in 1919 joined the editorial staff of the *Evening Standard*. In 1931 he became a special writer for the *Daily Herald*. As he tells us in his recent work he was, in 1923, among the privileged few enabled to enter the mummy-chamber of the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amun, while the treasures found there were standing with the dust of three thousand years upon them. Add to all this the fact that the author has travelled widely, that he is extremely well read, that he is a keen and accurate observer, and his success will be easily understood.

A knowledge of the geography of the Holy Land and adjacent countries is very useful for an intelligent reading of the Bible. In fact one of the difficulties that deter the ordinary man and woman from reading the Bible is lack of acquaintance with the biblical setting, or with what might be termed the background of the Bible. Mr. Morton's books present this background in an attractive way that holds the reader's interest to the last page. They engender a healthy curiosity about biblical literature, and if carefully digested would serve as splendid introductory reading to the historical books themselves. They will interest not only the scholar but the reader also. The work will appeal to all believers. Although he is not a Catholic, the author is always reverent and respectful, his attitude showing a deep love for the Scriptures. This respect and reverence can hardly fail to impress the reader, exhibited as it is throughout, without ostentation, and with a casual but charming simplicity.

A purpose so worthy is not easy of accomplishment, but the author comes well equipped for his difficult task, and accomplishes it extremely well in his latest book. A very necessary quality in a writer of this type of literature is a capacity for sustaining interest. This capacity Mr. Morton possesses to an extraordinary degree. He is a master of

sheer good writing. Being a close observer, an accurate reporter, and having a wealth of connected data ready at hand, he writes with a charm that holds readers to the page. The lengthiest descriptions never pall, and his sentences often ring with a melody that is entrancing. He has a knack of always using the right word. He makes the country he is visiting live for the reader. Your eyes veritably ache as he describes for you the vast, unending expanse of the desert; and even ancient ruins throb with interest under his ready pen. His pages are enlivened at convenient intervals with good humor and personal anecdotes. He has lightness without frivolity.

He is throughout very English. It has been said that an Englishman is one who lives on an island and constantly carries his island about with him. To this quip Mr. Morton replies, "And yet what finer thing is there to take about the world?" The reader will no doubt allow for this outburst of patriotism as he enjoys Mr. Morton's delight at finding Yorkshire Pudding in the midst of the desert, or *Punch* at Abu Zenima.

The author never misses a chance to point out incongruities, and this together with a clever use of original and striking comparisons, adds not a little charm to the book. For example, his journey by taxicab to Babylon, or the sense of incongruity with which he purchased a railway ticket to Ur of the Chaldees.

The following description of a declining sunset at Luxor, on p. 265, is a good example of the author's command of language:

Minute by minute the fierceness of the colour fades from angry crimson into pink. Feathery wings of light ascend the sky like rockets of heavenly flamingoes, and hang there glowing; then the fire fades in dull metallic bars of red and gold which lie upon a background of apple-green. There are perhaps ten minutes of stillness, in which, it seems, one should be able to hear the stars getting ready, and then darkness, like an overdue assassin, swoops down upon the world.

The reader may sometimes feel annoyance at not being able to verify references, but he must remember that the book is meant to be popular in character, and is not strictly a scientific work.

A word of praise should not be forgotten for the many choice illustrations in sepia, for the handy endpaper maps, and for the bibliography and index at the end of the work.

This latest book of Mr. Morton is not without defects, however, defects against which the Catholic reader must be cautiously on his guard. Caution is the more necessary, in fact, owing to what we have already pointed out as one of the chief merits of the book—the author's gift of writing. Now we do not mean to imply that a work to be scientific and accurate must be dull and poorly written. By no means. Still a clever use of a gift of this sort can easily make error appear as the truth.

There are some unacceptable statements in this book. Such is, for example, the statement on p. 74 that, "the story of Daniel and the Dragon . . . is not printed in the Book of Daniel." This is misleading. Catholics who are accustomed to find this story in Ch. 14 of their Book of Daniel will wonder at the author's statement. He should have said that it is not printed in *some* editions of the Book of Daniel. It has, of course, been long disputed whether this section belonged originally to the Book of Daniel. This dispute has not yet been settled, and there still remain solid reasons for holding that it was written by the Prophet himself. It should be noted in this connection that the question of authorship of this passage does not affect its canonicity. It has always been regarded by the Church as canonical Scripture, and this view is supported by the ancient usage of the Church and by the testimony of important witnesses. More serious are the references to "the prophet known as the Second Isaiah." The inference of course is that the book which Jewish and Christian tradition universally ascribed to the Prophet Isaias, was really the work of more than one author.

In conclusion, and by way of summary, we should say that Mr. Morton's books are deservedly popular. This popularity, however, should not lead the reader to accept his assertions without discrimination. Mr. Morton writes an exquisite book of travel, but he has not yet attained the rank of a professional exegete and one cannot expect a non-Catholic to understand the usefulness of the austerities of St. Simon Stylites, which he pictures so graphically.

C. F. DEVINE, C.S.S.R.

DONALD ATTWATER, *St. John Chrysostom, the Voice of Gold* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1939). Pp. xiv, 202, with four illustrations and map. \$2.00.

The English-speaking world is indebted to Mr. Donald Attwater for this popular, yet reliable biography of St. John Chrysostom. In a masterly way, Mr. Attwater sketches for us the dynamic personality of Chrysostom, and gives us some vivid glimpses into the half-Christianized Near East at the close of the fourth century. Not a little of the book's interest lies in its numerous well-chosen quotations from Chrysostom's own sermons and letters. How modern they seem, even after fifteen centuries! St. John Chrysostom was also a practical expounder of the Sacred Scriptures, usually in the objective manner of the Antiochian exegetical school, and several extracts are given. After reading this fascinating volume, one will hope that Mr. Attwater has a series of other Eastern Saints' Lives in preparation.

EDWARD A. CERNY, S.S.

WILLIAM LEONARD, D.D., D.S.SCR., *The Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Critical Problem and Use of the Old Testament* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1939). Pp. xvi, 425. 12s. 6d.

Dr. Leonard's able dissertation for the doctorate in Sacred Scripture will repay careful reading. Following out a line of investigation made familiar in recent years by Father A. Vitti, S.J., of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Dr. Leonard exemplifies in his own detailed study the type of comparisons and other checks necessary for the proper evaluation of the Epistle's internal evidence. Those who see in its theology and literary style conclusive proofs that St. Paul had little or nothing to do with it, will get a mild shock on finding so many of their favorite arguments more or less neutralized by a calmly reasoned exposition of the pertinent facts.

In his first chapter, Dr. Leonard discusses the tradition for Pauline authorship, and the critical theories which have been raised against it. He then undertakes a general examination and comparison of the Epistle as a whole, in order to get a correct view of its main characteristics. All too true is his contention that "the man who has counted all the hapaxlegomena, catalogued all the prepositions, marked all the trochees and iambi and anapests, noted all the little patches that show Alexandrian colour, has really seen very little of the Epistle to the Hebrews." There is indeed a real need to view "the letter in the great sections that constitute the marvellous whole, and not merely in tiny detached particles—quodlibets which might be used to prove quidlibet."

The theology of Hebrews is treated in the second chapter, and a comparison is made with the other Pauline writings under nine representative heads. In spite of all its own peculiar coloring, *Hebrews* is shown to have an enormous amount of thought in common with them, and nothing which would exclude any of their special viewpoints. Dr. Leonard feels that "it must be considered such a coherent development of Pauline conceptions as cannot be reasonably attributed to any other mind than that of the Apostle himself. . . . The whole work must belong to Paul . . . whose other writings it echoes in so many ways, and whose great ideas it embodies in such a wonderfully developed shape."

The third chapter considers the literary form of *Hebrews*, and estimates such facts of "vocabulary, phraseology, sentence-building, stylistic graces, imagery, artistic and dialectic structure, affective movement, rhythmic characteristics, peculiar stylistic colour and external literary influences" as may be detected in the Epistle. Although the matter and the basic form are to be attributed to St. Paul, Dr. Leonard finds no reason "to exclude the literary cooperation of a secretary in the work of stylistic arrangement, choice of words, cutting and filling of phrases that finally resulted in a Scripture, which is

one of the great jewels of sacred literature." Regarding the identity of the penman, Dr. Leonard concludes with Origen's *τὸ ἀληθὲς Θεὸς οἶδεν*.

Other interesting chapters follow on scriptural materials, mode of citation, textual form of citations, and exegetical processes. As each chapter has its own conclusion, there is but a brief summary of the whole work in the concluding chapter. There is also an appendix on the hapaxlegomena of St. Paul's latest writings, and another on the citation formulae. The dissertation reads smoothly. One need not agree with every detail to recognize the merit of the work.

EDWARD A. CERNY, S.S.

ALLAN BARR, M.A., Professor of N. T. Language, Literature and Exegesis, United Free Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, *A Diagram of Synoptic Relationships* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh). \$1.25.

Professor Barr is convinced that the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke depended largely on a writing substantially the same as our St. Mark as one of their sources. His Diagram is based on this theory, which he frankly avows is an "assumption." The chart accordingly, in view of the emphasis it gives to St. Mark's Gospel, can hardly be deemed entirely objective.

This is not to deny that a student of the Synoptic Problem cannot derive considerable help from the use of this Diagram, if only he bears in mind that the central thesis is admittedly an assumption. We find on this drawing that each Gospel is represented by columns running side by side down the page, though separated by margins. Each column is marked off layer fashion into chapters of the Gospel, separated by heavy dark lines. At a glance the eye can thus see the relative length of the three Synoptic Gospels. The peculiar and the common matter of each evangelist are shown by the use of different colors for sections down his column. Thus green signifies what is proper to St. Mark, red what is common to Mark and one or both of the other Synoptists. A glance at the diagram, therefore, shows the proportionate distribution of common and proper matter. The margin space between the columns is used chiefly for lines connecting one Gospel with another, so that the reader may quickly see what sections correspond. That each Gospel may be compared by these lines with the other two, four columns are used—Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Matthew again. The lines that run across the margins from column to column are also variously colored and figured to call attention to close or distant correspondence, agreement or diversity in the order followed, in the sections compared.

This system of marginal connecting lines enables the student of a passage to make quickly as detailed a comparison of structure between

corresponding sections as the use of a translation will permit. The margins also contain various signs and abbreviations indicative of other points of interest about Synoptic relationships, such as double asterisk that call attention to doublets, i.e., passages (chiefly short sayings) found more than once in the same Gospel.

J. A. McHUGH, O.P.

A. LUCAS, *The Route of the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt* (London, Edward Arnold and Co., 1939). Pp. 99. \$1.35.

Mr. Lucas offers this book to the public with an apology for adding one more book to the already lengthy bibliography on the subject. However, forty years of residence in Egypt has given him a confidence that he knows the terrain, the history, and the archeology that enter into the discussion of this question.

The author accepting the Biblical account as the basis of his discussion traces the beginning of the march of the Israelites from either Tanis (San el Hagar) or Kantir. The sea crossed is Lake Timsah. Lake Timsah is consequently the "yām sūph" of Exodus, though elsewhere in Scripture it clearly refers to the Red Sea.

Of the possible routes across the Sinai Peninsula he also excludes the Mediterranean coastal route as being too frequented and hence unsafe for the fugitives. The extreme southern ("traditional") route following the road that led to the mines of South Sinai he excludes partly for the same reason, and partly because such a course would be far too circuitous. The "Way of Shur" is excluded because of its scant water supply. Mr. Lucas, therefore, traces the journey southeastward from Lake Timsah to the road which is the present day pilgrim road. This road runs along the northern edge of the plateau El Tih, through Nekhl, El Themed, Wadi El Masri, to Gebel Bagir (in Midian) which the author identifies with Mt. Sinai.

Thence the journey is traced northward to Kadesh (Ain Kadeis), back to Gebel Bagir, and then, finally, northeastward around Edom and through Moab over the traditional route.

The author's development is generally logical and carefully worked out. However, without going into detail, three defects in Mr. Lucas's exposition must be pointed out. First, he sometimes excludes biblical data that do not fit well with his theory as being unauthentic. Then Mr. Lucas seems at times to forget that the Israelites did not actually go to Palestine by the quickest safe route. There are *forty years of wandering* to be explained. And finally the incident of the manna and the quail can not be used to determine any points of the journey accurately. Even supposing these incidents to be natural phenomena, the course of the migrating quail allows of much variation according

to evidence given by Lucas himself. And Major C. S. Jarvis in his discussion: "*The Forty Years Wandering of the Israelites*" in the Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly, 70 (1938) p. 31, uses the references to quail in Exodus to prove that the Israelites followed the old road along the Mediterranean shore on leaving Egypt. (One might remark here that it is surprising that Mr. Lucas does not refer to Major Jarvis's article.) Due to the deficiencies of the biblical and extrabiblical data no route can be established with finality. But investigations of men like Mr. Lucas and Major Jarvis are to be welcomed as coming from men who have an intimate knowledge of the land in question. As long as the investigators, however, exclude the possibility of supernatural intervention in history, they will lack final solutions for many Scriptural problems.

One can not close this review without referring to the author's conclusion, resulting from an official and scientific survey, that a branch of the Nile once ran through the Wadi Tumilat, the commonly accepted location of the Land of Goshen, thus rendering it quite habitable. That is a real contribution to the study of Exodus.

JAMES E. COLERAN, S.J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, Ill.:

The Gospels. By Donald Wayne Riddle. 1939. Pp. IX, 303. \$3.00.

The Catholic University of America Press: Washington, D. C.:

The Teaching of Amen-em-ope and The Book of Proverbs. A dissertation submitted by the Rev. James M. McGlinchey, C.M. 1939. Pp. XII, 44.

The Jewish Publication Society of America: Philadelphia, Pa.:

The Jew in the Literature of England. By Montagu Frank Modder. 1939. Pp. XVI, 435. \$2.50.

ALLEGED DISCREPANCIES IN THE GOSPEL ACCOUNTS OF THE RESURRECTION

No point of Catholic doctrine has been so fiercely and so perseveringly attacked as the corporeal resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. One after another these attacks have been triumphantly repulsed, their futility demonstrated. The field of biblical criticism resembles a vast graveyard filled with the skeletons of discarded theories devised by highly imaginative sceptics inspired by wishful thinking with a view of discrediting faith in our Lord's resurrection. One might think that so many repeated failures, and the oft reiterated demonstration that the systems devised to blast away the solid rock of evidence on which the fact of Christ's resurrection proudly rests are weak, illogical and unavailing would lead the opposition to abandon their efforts, but not so. They continue unabated, and men are still racking their brains, working their imaginations overtime, and parading a vast amount of erudition and ingenuity in their, to us, futile attempts to destroy the impregnable rock of historical evidence on which the Christian faith in the resurrection stands proud and unshaken.

Why do these critics display such a zealous, crusading spirit? They, it is said, are of the philosophical mind which "demands 'coherence' and hesitates to admit into its system of belief what is not only unparalleled, but also in the metaphysical sense unique, unless it can be shown to cohere closely and naturally with some general theory of the meaning and purpose of the universe, which approves itself to the speculative intellect as rational and credible."¹

Accordingly with one or another philosophical prepossession, they attack Christianity, and especially the corporeal resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.² The reason for the concentration of the anti-Christian attack on the specific point of our

¹ So Charles Gore, *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture* (1928), Part III, p. 313.

² The basic error in the critics' approach to the problem of Jesus of Nazareth is well stated by Karl Adam in "*The Son of God*" (Eng. Tr., 1934), p. 24 ff. He says elsewhere: The historian "may not in advance and on principle refuse absolutely to admit the possibility of a direct incursion of the divine into the realm of created beings: otherwise he will run the danger of doing violence to historical facts and divine realities in the name of his preconceived opinions and blind implicit faith in his own philosophical creed" p. 28.

Lord's resurrection was stated centuries ago by St. Paul: "If Christ be not risen again, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain."³

Show that the corporeal resurrection of Jesus Christ is not a fact, and the whole fabric of Christianity is destroyed. It becomes a snare and a delusion; the beautiful, the consoling and encouraging hope it imparts is swept away, and in its place there remains but the black despair of utter hopelessness and complete frustration.

The reason why Christianity in its entirety stands or falls with the fact of Christ's resurrection is the solidarity between His resurrection and our redemption. A Christ vanquished by death cannot have destroyed sin whose penalty is death. If death were stronger than Christ and held Him irretrievably in its fetters, it must be because sin, the penalty of which is death, retained its mastery over Him. In that event the adherents of Christ have not been pardoned their sins. He is not at all the Messiah, the Saviour, the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world.⁴

These attacks have first centered on the gospel accounts, being based on the supposed discrepancies and contradictions in the four canonical gospels, and on the supposed intrinsic improbability of the incidents recorded. An examination of these alleged discrepancies will be our concern in this article.

It should be noted at the outset that the Gospels all agree on the essentials of the resurrection. By essentials we understand three things: 1—the burial of Jesus; 2—the discovery of the empty tomb; 3—repeated appearances and conversations with individuals and with groups both large and small. We shall consider these three points in order.

THE BURIAL⁵

All four evangelists record the fact of the honorable burial of our Lord, performed by the loving hands of a secret, influential and wealthy admirer, Joseph of Arimathea.

³ 1 Cor. 15:14.

⁴ Allo, *Première Epître aux Corinthiens*, 1934, p. 402.

⁵ This point has been adequately treated by Father F. M. Braun, O.P., in a series of articles in *Revue Biblique* (Jan. Apr. July, 1936), pp. 34 ff. 184 ff. 346 ff., subsequently published in a brochure. We have drawn copiously from Father Braun.

The critics object: the apostles should have seen to the burial of their beloved murdered Master. Surely their devotion to Him would not have suffered them to neglect this last duty of love, nor tolerated the performance of that act of filial piety by a comparative stranger. Indeed Christian piety has refused to believe that the Apostles were absent at this solemn moment, and Christian art inspired by that piety, often represents the Apostles as assisting at the burial of their Master.

The critics further argue that Christ must needs have been laid away in great haste, because of the shortness of the time. He died at three, and at six or thereabout the sabbath rest, forbidding all work, would begin. This haste is incompatible, they argue, with the careful wrapping of the body in linen cloths. There was not enough time for all this.

Still another "contradiction" they point out. According to Mark and Luke the holy women procured spices for the anointing of Jesus' body only on Sunday morning, whereas John tells us that Nicodemus supplied the spices (a mixture of myrrh and aloes) and applied them to the body of Jesus at the time of the burial on Friday evening. It is said that the ointments purchased by the women were destined to supply the embalming which Joseph of Arimathea had omitted for lack of time. Either the women did not know of the embalming by Joseph or he had neglected that indispensable detail of an honorable burial. In either case the account of St. John would seem to be compromised. It is, moreover, we are told, passing strange that in the warm climate of Jerusalem one should think of embalming a corpse after it had been in the tomb for two nights and a day.

Since unity and coherence are essential characteristics of truth, their absence in this case, it is argued, stamps the accounts of the burial as suspect and untrustworthy.⁶

True it is that the Apostles are the ones we should naturally expect to discharge the sacred duty of giving an honorable burial

⁶ The critics, rejecting the gospel accounts of the burial, are not at a loss to tell us what really happened. According to Loisy the body of Jesus was thrown by the executioners into a common pit. According to Baldensperger the Sanhedrists buried the body hastily without washing or anointing. Later Joseph of Arimathea obtained permission to give the body an honorable burial. This he did secretly by night. The holy women who came Sunday morning with materials to anoint the body knew nothing of Joseph's procedure. According to Goguel the honorable burial described in the gospels is a pure apologetic fabrication.



to their beloved Master. But they were absent at the time of His crucifixion with the exception of St. John. They were hiding away in a panic of fear and trembling, in no mental condition to attend to the arrangements involved in a funeral. What more natural, then, than that an influential friend should step in and discharge this last act of loving devotion when the Apostles, who should have done it, were at the moment actually incapable of doing it?

Even if the Apostles had not been overcome by fear, is it likely that they, unknown and more or less uncouth strangers in Jerusalem, without influence, without friends and without money,⁷ would have been successful even if they had had the courage to appeal to Pilate for possession of the body of their beloved Master? Galileans were at best extremely unpopular at Jerusalem, and all the Apostles, save the ill-fated Judas, were Galileans.

The gospel account is fully in accord with what we know of Roman Law and Jewish practice. The Roman Law obliged Pilate to give the body of Jesus to anyone who might request it.⁸ The Mosaic Law forbade the bodies of those who had been hung on a gibbet to remain there after sunset.⁹

There was no law forbidding honorable burial to those who had been executed as criminals. The Talmud merely forbids their bodies being placed in the burial chamber of their fathers until the flesh has disintegrated.¹⁰

Jewish charity also required that the poor be provided with decent burial. The Book of Tobias shows, as Moore remarks, that the burial of the neglected dead was regarded as a duty of the highest obligation; it takes precedence even of the study of the Law, the circumcision of a son, or the offering of the paschal lamb.¹¹ Since our Lord was poor, and His Apostles destitute, is it surprising that an influential friend stepped in and provided every thing that honorable burial according to the standards of the day required?

⁷ St. John, alone among the Apostles, seems to have had some acquaintances and some influence at Jerusalem.

⁸ Digest, XLVIII, 24. *De Cadaveribus Punitorum*. "Corpora animadvertorum quibuslibet petentibus ad sepulturam danda sunt." Cited by Braun, *La Sépulture de Jésus*, p. 14.

⁹ Deut. 21:22-23.

¹⁰ Cited by Braun, *op. cit.* p. 15.

¹¹ Tob. 1:20 f., 2:1-9. Moore, *Judaism*, II, p. 175; I, p. 71.

Finally the description of the tomb, brief though it is, is in perfect conformity with burial customs in Jerusalem, as we know from literally hundreds of rockhewn sepulchres, which anyone who has ever visited Palestine has seen in abundance.

Instead of being intrinsically improbable the burial of our Lord by a rich and influential friend is far more probable than His burial by the Apostles or by His executioners. Critics have a way of discovering all manner of intrinsic improbabilities in records which do not fit in with their theories. And for the sake of the theory they reject historical evidence of the highest credibility, and seek to justify their rejection of it on the grounds of intrinsic improbability. On investigation, however, their proposed way is seen to be far more improbable than the record which they seek to discredit.

Next there is the alleged difficulty based on the double anointing of the body of Jesus. If Joseph of Arimathea, it is objected, anointed the body Friday night, there was no need for the holy women on Sunday morning to do it all over again, and besides it is unthinkable to attempt the embalming of a body thirty-six hours after death in the warm climate of Jerusalem.

First it may be observed that the heat at Jerusalem in early April is not such as to render "unthinkable" the application of a few spices or perfumed oil to a corpse.

Secondly it may be observed that the Talmud¹² in the treatise dealing with the Sabbath rest permits all necessary steps for decent burial on the Sabbath. Decent burial according to the standards of the day was the most highly cherished and ardently desired lot of every Jew; its privation was deemed a frightful misfortune.¹³ Relatives and friends of the deceased considered it a grave obligation to discharge this office on behalf of their departed. The Talmud accordingly permits the discharge of these sacred duties even on the Sabbath, expressly mentioning the washing and anointing of the body; and in case these offices are at the moment impossible of fulfillment, the law permits holding the corpse over until the next day, although the law regularly¹⁴ requires its interment before sunset of the day of death. The

¹² Cf. passages from the Talmud cited by Braun, *op. cit.* p. 74 f.

¹³ Cf. Jer. 16:4,6-8; 22:18 f.; 25:33; 8:2; et al.

¹⁴ Deut. 21:22-23. Although this passage regards those who had been executed, it was extended by the traditional interpretation to include all corpses.

duty of burying the dead was thus regarded as taking precedence over other laws whenever there should be a conflict.

It is certain then that, if the body of Jesus was buried at all, it was first washed and anointed. And since all the requisites for decent burial had been carried out, there can be no question of doing them all over again. The Evangelists who were certainly familiar with conditions in Palestine could not then have attributed to these women the intention of embalming the body three days after burial, nor could Palestinian women have been capable of such an intention.

The purpose of the holy women can be explained quite reasonably otherwise in view of the Palestinian custom of visiting the graves of one's dear ones for three days after burial. According to a popular belief the soul of the deceased remained three days near or in the body, until such time as decomposition began to alter the features. This belief may explain the practice of visiting graves for three days, or possibly the explanation may be found in the desire to preclude the possibility of burying a person alive.¹⁵

This custom throws considerable light on the remark of Lazarus' sister, Martha, when our Lord ordered the stone to be removed from the entrance to the burial chamber: "Lord, he already stinks, for he has been dead four days."¹⁶

Therefore for three days after burial the tomb was visited and even opened. The corpse remained accessible to friends and relatives. It must be remembered that the burial of at least the better-to-do and distinguished persons was in a rock-hewn tomb, or natural cave, the entrance to which was closed by a circular stone which could be easily rolled away. Never was a corpse put six feet under the ground as is the custom with us at the present time.

It is therefore perfectly in accord with Palestinian custom that the pious women should have visited the tomb of their beloved Master, Jesus. We have the custom of bringing flowers and wreaths and placing them on the graves of our loved ones. In ancient times instead of fragrant flowers, they brought aromatic spices.¹⁷ Josephus tells us of the burial of Herod I that there

¹⁵ Cf. Braun, *op. cit.* p. 75.

¹⁶ Jn. 11:39.

¹⁷ Cf. Braun, *ibid.* p. 77.

were five hundred men carrying perfumes, clearly distinct from those used to embalm the body.¹⁸ They were to be burned or spread about the interior of the tomb by visitors. Undoubtedly such a practice, on a lesser scale, was followed generally by the well-to-do in favor of those whom one sought especially to honor.¹⁹

It can therefore reasonably be concluded that nothing has been alleged which compels us to reject as untrustworthy the gospel records—no inconsistencies, no contradictions—relative to the burial of Christ.

THE EMPTY TOMB

The critics allege a number of "contradictions" in the records of the discovery of the empty tomb. Let us examine these allegations.

First, who discovered the empty tomb? St. Matthew says: Mary Magdalene and the other Mary;²⁰ St. Mark: Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome;²¹ St. Luke: Mary Magdalene, Mary, the mother of James, Joanna, and the other women who were with them;²² St. John mentions only Mary Magdalene.²³ Who of these discovered the empty tomb? We say without a moment's hesitation: all of them! and perhaps others besides. Each evangelist tells the story in his own particular way with his own particular plan and purpose in view. St. John evidently wants to lead up to the discovery of the empty tomb by the Prince of the Apostles and himself, and as these got the first inkling of what had happened from Magdalene, he introduces her alone, passing over her companions in silence, for there would be no particular point in mentioning them.

The other evangelists mention one or more other women who visited the tomb of Jesus on Easter morning and along with Magdalene discovered that it no longer held its precious deposit. Matthew mentions the other Mary, because he has already told us that she together with Magdalene²⁴ was present at the burial

¹⁸ *Antiquities*, XVII, viii, 3; *Jewish Wars*, I, xxiii, 9.

¹⁹ Braun, *op. cit.* p. 77.

²⁰ Mt. 28:1.

²¹ Mk. 16:1.

²² Lk. 24:10.

²³ Jn. 20:1. But the presence of others with Magdalene is insinuated in the next verse.

²⁴ Mt. 27:61.

of Jesus, and thus he would rule out the possibility of their being mistaken as to the identification of the tomb of Jesus (a possibility which modern critics have more than once suggested). St. Matthew does not introduce details which are not strictly necessary, and since according to the Mosaic Law two witnesses were enough to establish a fact,²⁵ he mentions no others, although he does not deny that others shared in the startling discovery of the empty tomb.

Mark adds the name of Salome to the group of women who went early Sunday morning to the tomb of Jesus. The reason for Mark's mentioning these three women is probably that he has already told us²⁶ that they assisted at a distance at the crucifixion of Jesus, and his mention of them at the tomb on Sunday morning is designed to show that their love and devotion were not extinguished by the horrible death of their Master on the cross.

St. Luke is more complete in his enumeration of the witnesses of the empty tomb in pursuance of his principle to investigate all things diligently according as eye-witnesses had handed them down.²⁷ Since he had not been an eye-witness himself he would have the word of as many eye-witnesses as possible to the empty tomb.

The critics really make a mountain out of a mole hill. As Père Lagrange remarks: "there is nothing easier (than to reconcile these accounts) unless one is held up by indifferent minutiae, and if one bears in mind the manner in which each gospel was composed."²⁸

The next inconsistency in the gospel records of the resurrection is found in the time of these women's visit to the tomb. Matthew says: at break of day; Mark: very early *when the sun had just risen*; Luke: *very early*; and John: *while it was still dark*.

It should be noted that all four evangelists agree on the day: it was Sunday; that they all agree on the time: it was very early in the morning. The only discrepancy is that Mark tells us that the sun had already risen, while John says that Mary Magdalene went to the sepulchre while it was still dark. Père Lagrange has an obvious solution: "It is clear that in Mark's ac-

²⁵ Deut. 19:15.

²⁶ Mk. 15:40.

²⁷ Lk. 1:2-3.

²⁸ *Evangile de Jésus Christ*, p. 382.

count the women are delayed by the purchase of spices. We may suppose then that Magdalene, leaving this matter to the other women, went alone and much in advance of the other women to the tomb," even while it was yet dark, and that the other women who had stopped to purchase ointments did not reach the sepulchre until the sun had risen.²⁹

For those who prefer a more exact concordance of the evangelists, we may say that when St. John says Magdalene *ἔρχεται πρὸς σκοτίας ἔτι οὔσης* which may be translated "is on her way before daylight," he has the beginning of the journey in mind, and that when St. Mark says *ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου* he is referring to the terminus of the journey, the sun having risen while the holy women were en route to the sepulchre. Or it is quite plausible to say that both evangelists speak loosely, John meaning by his words that it was not yet broad daylight, and Mark, that the first light of the aurora was visible from beyond the eastern horizon.³⁰

In view then of the four evangelists' agreement on the day and in general on the time, it seems most unreasonable to take exception to the apparent discrepancy as to the exact position of the sun below or above the eastern horizon.

The next difficulty has to do with the number of angels who appeared to the holy women and the position of the heavenly spirits. Matthew speaks of *one angel* who rolled away the stone and *sat* on it; Mark speaks of a *young man seated inside* the sepulchre; Luke speaks of *two men who stood* before the women; St. John makes no mention of men or angels at first, but later when Magdalene returns to the sepulchre after having made a hasty report to Peter and John, she beholds *two angels seated* "one at the head and one at the foot, where the body of Jesus had been placed."³¹

In regard to the number of angels Dr. Alfred Plummer in his excellent commentary on St. Luke's Gospel has a very sane and judicious remark: "We know too little about the manner of Angel appearances to be sure that Luke and John mention the same two Angels, or that Matthew and Mark mention the same

²⁹ *Evangelie selon S. Jean*,³ p. 506.

³⁰ Simon-Prado (*Praelectiones Biblicae*, N. T. I⁴, p. 612) quotes Lyranus: "Sol potest intelligi oriri dupliciter: uno modo perfecte . . . alio modo quando lux ejus incipit apparere, scil., in aurora, et sic accipitur hic ortus solis."

³¹ Jn. 20:12.

one. . . . Where, out of two or more, one only is spokesman, he is necessarily remembered. The other or others may be easily ignored or forgotten. It is an exaggeration to call such differences discrepancies."³²

This suggests the very plausible idea that instead of one or two angels there was probably a whole legion of them present to honor their Lord in His greatest moment of triumph on earth. First one, then another appears in visible form. Neither do they have to appear always in the same place and in the same position. At one moment they may be seated outside the sepulchre and the next be inside the sepulchre in a standing position. If they remained in statuesque immobility, the holy women might well have doubted that they were real, living beings. Father Ferdinand Prat remarks that these difficulties are greatly attenuated if we reflect that the heavenly spirits, unlike men, can at will make themselves visible or invisible. St. Matthew tells us that the angel rolled away the stone from the tomb and sat on it, but he does not say that the angel remained forever at that same place and in the same position.³³

There remains one other difficulty in regard to the discovery of the empty tomb by the holy women: what did they do after they made the startling discovery? According to St. Matthew, they rushed, filled with joy mingled with fear, to impart the glad news to the Apostles. St. Mark tells us that they fled away, so filled with terror that they did not say a word to a soul. According to St. Luke they report carefully to the Apostles what they had seen and heard. St. John tells us that Magdalene ran to tell Peter and John about the empty tomb, and to communicate to them their fears that some one had stolen the body of her beloved Jesus.

That the holy women, excepting Magdalene who did not remain to hear the words of the angel, should be so frightened that

³² *International Critical Commentary*, p. 547.

³³ *Jésus Christ, Sa Vie, Sa Doctrine, Son Aeuve*. II, p. 441. It may be noted too that the Greek and Latin word for "stand" does not necessarily denote the position of the body; it may designate merely *presence in a given place* or the *absence of motion*. Neither does the use of the term *angel* by one evangelist and *man* by another occasion any difficulty. The former term designates that they were heavenly visitants, *angels* in the technical theological sense; the latter that they appeared in visible human form.

they said nothing to anybody is quite natural and psychologically true. Sudden surprise, the discovery of a wholly unexpected and most disconcerting fact, the apparition of heavenly spirits, can most readily unnerve a group of high strung and impressionable women, already overwrought by the terrific ordeal of the Lord's passion and cruel death, to such an extent that they may become hysterical and be rendered speechless—momentarily. They were thrown into "an irresistible panic" of fear. They said nothing for the moment because they were too excited to speak, but such a state of mind passes and there is in the course of time a return to calm self-composure. When at length they did regain control of themselves, they may still have hesitated to inform the Apostles out of fear that their extraordinary story would not be believed. These fears would have been well founded, for when the women did finally report to the Apostles, their words were greeted with cynical scepticism and labeled as idle fancies or ravings of hysterical women, and the disciples frankly refused to put any stock in their reports.³⁴

After mentioning the silence and fear of the holy women, St. Mark abruptly terminates his gospel. Other verses follow, but they are probably from another pen than Mark's. If Mark himself had completed his gospel, he would probably have informed us that subsequently these women regained their composure and told the Apostles their startling experiences, as the other evangelists inform us they did.³⁵

There is therefore a reasonable explanation for every apparent discrepancy in the gospel accounts of the discovery of the empty tomb, and anyone who seeks to discredit them because of the trivial divergencies on minor details must be convicted of unreasoning and obstinate sin against the rudimentary laws of evidence.

THE APPEARANCES

The chief difficulty relative to the recorded appearances is the place or places where they occurred. According to St. Matthew our Lord appeared to the holy women at Jerusalem, and to the disciples in Galilee at the mountain which He had appointed them. The proto-canonical Mark mentions no appearances at all, but in the appendix there is mention of several appear-

³⁴ Lk. 24:11.

³⁵ *L'Evangile de Jésus Christ.* p. 584. S. Marc² p. 418.

ances which, however, are not localized. St. Luke's recorded appearances all took place in or near Jerusalem, while St. John tells us of appearances which occurred both at Jerusalem and in Galilee.

Another difficulty is the command of Christ, delivered to the Apostles through the holy women, to go to Galilee; that there He would see them. This seems to be inconsistent with the appearances which He granted them the very evening of His resurrection at Jerusalem and at Emmaus.

The opposition says that there were two traditions: one conserving the story of the Galilean appearances; the other those which were supposed to have taken place at Jerusalem. Since our Lord is said to have foretold the Galilean appearances before His death,³⁶ and since they were announced by the Angel of the resurrection³⁷ and also by Jesus Himself after His resurrection,³⁸ the critics say that the tradition of the Galilean appearances is the original, and that the other concerning the Judæan appearances was fashioned later for apologetic reasons.

It is true that the words of the Angel recorded by Matthew and Mark take no account of the appearances at Jerusalem, but neither do they exclude them. The Evangelists do not quote the entire conversation of the Angel with the holy women, but only that part which falls in with the plan of their respective gospels, and since Matthew and Mark intended to describe only the Galilean appearances, they mention only that portion of the Angel's message which refers to them.³⁹

It is certainly true that Jesus appointed Galilee as a rendezvous for the disciples. His first intention may probably have been to have the Apostles leave the hostile atmosphere of Jerusalem for the much more tranquil territory of Galilee, where He would show Himself to them and give them His final commission. But the holy women delayed to report the direction to the Apostles, and when finally the message did reach them, they remained incredulous, labeled the report contemptuously "idle tales." The only way, at least the most effective way to overcome this incredulity was for Jesus to appear to the Apostles directly, establish faith in their minds as to the reality of His resurrection and prepare them for the final and more important appearances in

³⁶ Mt. 26:32; Mk. 14:27.

³⁸ Mt. 28:10.

³⁷ Mt. 28:7; Mk. 16:7.

³⁹ Lagrange; *S. Marc*,² p. 418.

Galilee. I say more important because it was during these that Jesus imparted the great commission: *Going therefore teach ye all nations*, and appointed or rather reaffirmed the appointment of Peter as His earthly Vicar and visible representative: *Feed my lambs, feed my sheep*.⁴⁰

We must bear in mind the particular method used by each Evangelist. Father Buzy in this connection says: Matthew's method "is to pass over facts not pertinent to his plan, and to group in a synthetic picture the facts he considers indispensable to his purpose. Since the Evangelist's purpose is not to recount the doings of the Apostles during Easter week at Jerusalem, he is content with presenting us the disciples back in Galilee."⁴¹ Thus he omits the Jerusalem appearances entirely but by no means denies that they occurred.

St. Luke's plan both in the Gospel and in the Acts, as is well known, is geographical. Accordingly he conducts Jesus and the Apostles through Galilee to Jerusalem. There he concludes the story of Jesus, and there he leaves the Apostles, to present them to us again in his second volume, the Acts, as setting forth from the cradle of Christianity to bring its glad tidings to the whole world. We understand perfectly well why, according to this geographical plan, he does not concern himself with the Galilean appearances, but sums up and localizes at Jerusalem all the post-resurrection utterances of Jesus which the gospel's plan and purpose required.⁴²

There is therefore no well founded objection against the historical accuracy and trustworthiness of the Gospel accounts of the events connected with the resurrection. There is a natural and satisfying explanation of each of the pretended inconsistencies in the fourfold record,—satisfying for any one who is willing to be satisfied and is not obstinately determined to reject the historic reality of the resurrection of Jesus out of blind devotion to a philosophic postulate.

JOSEPH L. LILLY, C.M.

⁴⁰ Cf. Felder, *Christ and the Critics*, Eng. Tr. Stoddard, II, p. 392ff.; Buzy in *La Sainte Bible*, edited by Pirot; *S. Matthieu*, IX, p. 383.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.* p. 385.

⁴² *La Sainte Bible*, edited by Pirot; *S. Luc*, par Marchal, X, 291; Lagrange *S. Luc*. p. 598.

WHAT WAS THE MANNA?

In the Sinaitic peninsula to this day there grows a shrub, the *Tamarix mannifera*, which produces a substance known as manna, recalling both by name and physically that manna with which the Israelites were nourished during the forty years preceding their entry into the Promised Land. The similarity between the two mannas is, in fact, so great that both in ancient and, especially, in more modern times they have been considered the same. Though the question of identity has been discussed, often at some length, yet no definite conclusion could be reached, owing principally to the fact that the manna of Sinai had never been scientifically or systematically studied. In recent years, however, this obstacle has been removed; for in an expedition to Sinai undertaken by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1927, Professor Bodenheimer was able to submit the production of manna to a close, systematic study, reaching certain, definite conclusions;¹ his results have been corroborated in great measure by the well-known traveller, Rev. B. Ubach, O.S.B.² Despite the excellent observations of both writers it is our intention to take up the question of identity or non-identity anew. Though we agree with the opinion expressed by both, yet Bodenheimer in his study presupposes the theory of Pentateuchal sources, hence discarding as unhistorical and untrustworthy some elements of the biblical narrative which we prefer to consider and appreciate fully, and on the other hand the nature of Ubach's work prevented him from making a complete, detailed examination of the question. We propose, therefore, to re-examine the relation of the two mannas from an exegetical point of view, giving the various biblical passages their merited consideration.

THE MANNA AS DESCRIBED BY THE BIBLE

There are two passages in Sacred Scripture which give a satisfactory, if hardly botanical, description of the manna which constituted part of the diet of the Israelites during their forty year's sojourn in the desert. In the former of the passages, Ex. 16, the sacred author inserts a description of it while relating the circumstances under which it first appeared; in the latter, Num.

¹ Cf. Bodenheimer-Theodor, *Ergebnisse der Sinai-Expedition 1927 der hebräischen Universität, Jerusalem*, Leipzig, 1929, 45-89.

² Ubach, O.S.B., *L'Éxode—El Levític* (La Biblia ilustració pels Monjos de Montserrat, XXIV, 2), Monestir de Montserrat, 1934, 92-100.

11:4-9, a like description supplements an account recording the Israelites' complaint of the monotony of their diet. Wisdom (16:20-29) also speaks of the manna, listing various wondrous properties thereof; its value, however, in solving the question at issue is little, as we intend to show. Elsewhere in Sacred Scripture the manna is indeed frequently mentioned,³ but nothing of real importance regarding the nature of the manna can be drawn from these passages.

EXODUS, 16:1-36

Arriving in the desert of Sin,⁴ "which is between Elim and Sinai," on the fifteenth day of the second month of their departure from the land of Egypt, the Israelites suffered hunger and murmured against Moses and Aaron. As was his wont on similar occasions, Moses betook himself to Yahweh, who promised him food for the hungry, at the same time prescribing certain regulations to be observed in its regard. On the strength of this promise Moses foretold the coming of food. That night flesh in the form of quails was given to them; on the following morning manna covered the face of the desert.

This manna the Bible describes as having appeared together with the dew: "And there arose a layer of dew, and lo! on the face of the desert a minute *scale-like* thing, a minute thing like hoar-frost upon the earth." The text is quite certain, except the Hebrew: מַחֲסֵפִים, which we have rendered *scalelike*, with Brown-Driver-Briggs. The word itself is a *hapax legomenon* whose meaning is further obscured by the discrepancies of the principal Versions. Thus the Septuagint translators: ὥσεϊ κόριον λευκόν, a reading similar to, and probably influenced by Ex. 16:31; the Vulgate, too, has a peculiar reading, whose origin we have been unable to trace: *pilo tusam*. Our interpretation, *scale-like*, is in some measure strengthened by the Targum: מַחֲסֵפִי, and the Peshitta: *Methqleph*. This interpretation, however, is at most probable.

When the Israelites beheld this substance, they said to one another בְּהִינֵה הָיָה. Here again we stumble against difficulty of

³ Deut. 8:3,16; Num. 21:5; Jos. 5:12; 2 Esd. 9:20; Ps. 78:24; 105:40; Jn. 6:31,49,59; Heb. 9:4; Apoc. 2:17.

⁴ The location of the desert of Sin (סִין) on the western coast of the peninsula is of course questioned; we are, however, to look for it in that general direction, which for the purpose of this article suffices.

interpretation. However, the solution of this difficulty neither enters the scope of the present article nor affects the question at issue: Let us therefore simply follow the LXX and Vulgate, translating: What is this? Thus, the Israelites are made to express ignorance of the new substance, a fact expressly stated in the next few words, and again in Deut. 8:3,16. This interpretation is consequently supported by both the immediate and remote context. Moreover, to our mind it is quite plausible that the masoretic pointing here is influenced by the pointing of the word for manna: מָן. The cry of the Israelites would then be in Aramaic,⁵ a language whose ancient existence Gen. 31:47 attests.

Moses then explained that this was the food promised and now given by Yahweh; after which he commanded that each collect a gomor according to the number of persons in his tent. Does this mean that to every Israelite, whether man, woman, or child, one gomor was allotted? It would seem more reasonable to suppose that the gomor was allotted according to the eating capacity rather than, irrespectively of the need of the individual, according to the number of persons in the various tents. However this may be, despite the fact that some disregarded the injunction of Moses, *but* one gomor, neither more nor less, was the portion of each.

Again Moses enjoined that nothing thereof be left for the morrow. Some disobeyed, but God manifested His power to enforce His commands: the manna which had been left over corrupted and bred worms.

The sacred author now informs us that the Israelites collected this manna each morning. We may more precisely determine the time as being before the heat of the day, about nine o'clock our time, for at that hour the manna disappeared. What caused its disappearance? The mention of the heat of the sun occasioned the translation of both LXX and Vulgate in the sense that it melted; hence these versions suppose that the sun melted it. However, while this *can* be the meaning of the Hebrew text, it is not the only interpretation possible. The Hebrew is in fact quite general, using נָמַס from מָסַס, the primitive meaning of which seems to be: *dissolve*, hence *vanish*, *disappear*, *melt*, *liquefy*, etc. The same general sense is evident in the Syriac and Aramaic Versions: *poshar-hvo* and פִּשֵּׁר. Therefore, though it is

⁵ In later Aramaic, however, we find the form *mon*.

obviously the intention of the Greek and Latin translators, and may be that of the Syriac and Aramaic, to attribute the disappearance of the manna to the action of the sun, we are not entitled to state more than that it *may* also be the meaning of the original text. The Hebrew may well be interpreted as simply indicating that time of day at which the manna disappeared.

On the sixth day the people were able to collect two gomors in place of the customary one. Wondering greatly thereat, the dignitaries accosted Moses, asking the reason. This, they learned, was the sanctity of the Sabbath. Moses, therefore, ordered them to cook and boil⁶ that which sufficed for the day, and to preserve the remainder for the morrow. This manna was accordingly kept over, and it neither corrupted nor bred worms. In spite of Moses' warning not to go out on the seventh day, there were some who issued forth on that day to gather manna; their disobedience availed them nothing, for there was no manna to be found. Learning this, Moses again repeated his injunction that none leave the encampment for that purpose on the Sabbath, and that all keep holy the Sabbath. This finally was observed.

This substance was called *man*, מן, which quite obviously bears some relation to the former cry: מן־הים, as we have remarked. However this may be, we now learn further concerning the manna that it was like unto the coriander seed. Fonck⁷ describes this seed as small, not quite the size of a grain of pepper, and of a whitish color tending towards yellow. Just what the relation of manna to this seed is, may be questioned. The Hebrew: מן־הים is ambiguous and admits of divers interpretations. Thus, we may render it: It was like a white coriander seed; with which both the Vulgate and the Septuagint *may* agree. Or perhaps: It was white like a coriander seed; with which the principal versions may all be made to agree. Or lastly: It was

⁶ Here two different processes of preparing food are given; it is our opinion, however, that the sacred writer does not intend to restrict the possibilities of preparing the manna to these two ways, but rather wishes us to understand that it could be prepared in various ways, listing two as representative.

⁷ Hagen, S.J., *Lexicon Biblicum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), I, Parisiis, 1905, 989 (art. *coriandrum*): "Est autem semen parvum, ovoideo-globosum, grani piperis magnitudinem fere non attingens, colore subalbido flavescente."

like a coriander seed, (and also) white. We prefer this interpretation, because in Num. 11:7, where the manna is again compared to a coriander seed, this quality 'white' is not mentioned, hence indicating that here it is quite independent of the coriander seed.

Moreover, its taste is said to be that of a wafer (made) with honey. We are to understand, doubtless, that it was similar in taste to honey; perhaps also that the confection made from manna in its finished stage was like in taste to a honey wafer.

As a memorial to future generations, a gomor of this manna was placed in the ark, where several hundred years later it perished together with the ark at the destruction of the Temple.

The sacred author concludes the episode with the information that the Israelites ate this manna for forty years—that is, until they entered inhabited land, the Land of Canaan. This statement is borne out by Jos. 5:12, which relates the cessation of manna upon their entering the Promised Land.

NUMBERS, 11:4-9

On another occasion we are given a similar description of the manna, which is somewhat more concise. We learn that the Israelites, together with others who had accompanied them from Egypt, though perhaps sufficiently nourished by the manna, yet objected to the monotony of the diet, giving expression to their longing for the cucumbers, peppers, leeks, and garlies of Egypt. At this point the sacred author interposes a brief description of the manna. He informs us that it was like to the coriander seed, repeating the similarity already mentioned in Exodus. Here, however, he adds a new comparison: its appearance is that of *bdellium* בְּדֵלְיָם. We cannot decide with certainty what is meant. The Hebrew word occurs but twice, here and Gen. 2:12, where it is mentioned in connection with gold and onyx stone. The Samaritan Pentateuch and Targum reproduce the same word in both instances. Hence, in order to decide its meaning we are obliged to recur to later Versions. The Vulgate renders it *bdellium*, a yellowish, odoriferous gum; the same is the rendering of the minor Greek Versions, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. The Syriac and LXX, together with the latter's daughter version, the Vetus Latina, impugn this interpretation, agreeing among themselves in the general meaning of precious stone. Thus the Syriac: *berulho*, pearl; the LXX: *χρύσταλλος*, and

correspondingly the Old Latin: *carbunculum*. On examining the passage of Genesis, we note that all versions follow the same lines, with two unimportant changes. The Septuagint here renders *ἀνθαξ*, which is also a species of jewel; the Syriac carries the plural in place of the singular. In Genesis it is quite certain that the Alexandrine Version correctly interprets the Hebrew, principally because of the context. Here, however, it may well be that the Hebrew word is to be understood as bdellium, in which case the similarity expressed is easily applied to the Sinaitic manna, which is slightly yellowish or golden in tinge. It is our opinion, nevertheless, that the Seventy are to be upheld. The sacred author would then mean that the manna resembles the precious stone in so far as both glisten or sparkle—that is, reflect light.

We are next informed that the manna was used to make a kind of cake; for which purpose it was ground in a mill-stone and beaten with a pestle. The description is closed with the assertion that its taste was that of a dainty (made) with oil. As previously for Ex. 16:31, here also it seems more probable that the finished product is indicated.

WISDOM, 16:20-29

In this passage we have an indubitable reference to the manna, and more precisely, to the circumstances under which it first appeared (Ex. 16). The Author of Wisdom relates that God nourished His people with angelical food, with bread from heaven, for which the Israelites were not obliged to work, a food which contained in itself all manner of delight, and was agreeable to the taste of all (v. 20). This "substance," in fact, changed according to the wish of the individual (v. 21). Though but snow and ice, yet it resisted the power of fire (v. 22); which statement is repeated in another form in v. 27, where we learn that though fire could not destroy it, still when heated by a slight ray of sun, it melted.

In the interpretation of this passage two courses are open to us: either we may explain it in a *strictly literal* sense, in which case any attempt to determine the nature of the manna must include this passage; or it may be interpreted *spiritually* or *figuratively*, when its value in this question may be safely discounted.

Here, a strictly literal interpretation must be excluded, for we should then be compelled to admit that the Author of Wisdom contradicts the passages of Exodus and Numbers that we have examined above. Thus, note that he states that the manna contained in itself all manner of delight, that it agreed with the taste of all, that it changed in accordance with the individual desire. Yet in Num. 11:4-6 we have an unequivocal statement to the contrary; there the people long after flesh, after the vegetables of Egypt. Had the biblical manna had the qualities listed in Wisdom, there would have been no call for complaint, as the people would have been able to change the taste of the manna according to their individual desires. Furthermore, he terms the manna snow and ice; this can hardly be applied to the manna literally, for it would then lack the necessary nutritive property supposed by the historical account of Exodus, nor could it have been prepared as Num. 11:8 states. Moreover, the existence of snow or ice in the hot waste of Sinai exceeds the bounds of all probability, especially at the time of the year during which the events narrated in Ex. 16 and Num. 11:4-9 took place.

Since, therefore, we cannot interpret this passage of Wisdom in a strictly literal sense, we must turn to a spiritual interpretation. We are consequently authorized to disregard this pericope in determining the nature of the biblical manna; for it is apparent that the Author of Wisdom is referring only generally to the historical fact, adding certain circumstances or properties which are to be interpreted spiritually and whose purpose is to prove the providence of God towards His people.⁸

CONCLUSION

From the brief exegetical survey of the passages of Exodus and Numbers, which alone affect the question at issue, we may with some foundation, we believe, list the various properties of the biblical manna. We divide them into two groups: natural, and hence essential, qualities, and supernatural qualities—a distinction whose importance we intend to emphasize later in this article.

⁸ Cladder concludes similarly: "Historiam qui quaerit, pentateuchi narrationes adeat oportet, liber vero Sapientiae totus est rhetorico-poeticus"; cf. Hagen, S.J., *Lexicon Biblicum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae), III, Parisiis, 1911, 75 (art. *Manna*).

The following are the natural qualities of the biblical manna:

- a. The manna appeared together with the dew (Ex. 16:13-14; Num. 11:9).
- b. It appeared on the face of the desert (Ex. 16:14).
- c. It was a minute, *scale-like* thing (Ex. 16:14).
- d. It was like hoar-frost (Ex. 16:14).
- e. It was like the coriander seed (Ex. 16:31; Num. 11:7).
- f. It was white (Ex. 16:31).
- g. It was like a precious stone in appearance (Num. 11:7).
- h. It could be ground or pounded (Num. 11:8).
- i. It could be cooked or boiled (Num. 11:8).
- j. Cakes could be made of it, whose taste was that of wafers made with honey (Ex. 16:31), or dainties made with oil (Num. 11:8).
- k. As the sun grew warm, it disappeared (Ex. 16:21).

Turning now to what we consider the supernatural qualities of the manna described in Ex. 16 and Num. 11:4-9, we list the following:

- a. The same quantity, one gomor, was the portion of all.
- b. The manna, if left over till the following day, corrupted and bred worms.
- c. On the sixth day, two gomors were collected in place of the customary one.
- d. The manna left over for the Sabbath did not corrupt.
- e. No manna was to be found on the Sabbath.

These, then, are the various qualities of the biblical manna; accordingly, we expect to find the natural qualities in whatever substance is identified with this manna.

THE MANNA OF SINAI

It is a fact long established that the manna of the Sinaitic peninsula derives in some way from the shrub *Tamarix mannifera*. This plant, which the Arabs call *tarfa'*, is to be found also outside the peninsula. Post⁹ locates this shrub in the following places: in Transjordan at Callirrhoe and Ras-Hish to the east of the Dead Sea, in Wadi Karak and Wadi al-Ḥasa around the south end of the Dead Sea. In the peninsula it is most frequent in Wadi Nasb, Wadi es-Sheich, Wadi Feiran; there it not infrequently forms whole forests.¹⁰

⁹ *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai*,² Beirut, 1932, I, 224.

¹⁰ Cladder, apud Hagen, *o.c.*, 659.

The shrub attains a height of six or seven metres; its branches are "rather rigid; leaves half-clasping, ovate-deltoid, acute."¹¹ When blossoming, the shrub has dense bunches of rose-colored flowers, whose strong aroma pervades the surrounding district.¹²

The natural phenomenon with which we are concerned begins towards the end of May and continues on through June and July. During this time the manna is to be found in the early morning on the ground beneath the shrubs.

Before Bodenheimer's study of the natural phenomenon it was thought that this manna was formed and exuded directly by the *tamarix* in liquid form and that coalescing it fell to the ground, where the heat of the sun would soon liquefy it, if it were not collected in good time. This opinion must naturally be revised in accordance with the recent finds of Bodenheimer, corroborated by Ubach. For it is now certain that the manna is not at all due to a biological exudation of the *tamarix mannifera*, but, on the contrary, to the activity of certain insects.¹³ Some travellers, it is true, had already asserted this, but whereas they were convinced that the mere puncturing of the bark by these insects produced the manna,¹⁴ we now know that the insects elaborate it within themselves. Bodenheimer¹⁵ was able to single out four distinct insects that produce the manna: the *Trabutina mannipara*, the *Najacoccus serpentinus*, the *Opsius jucundus*, and the *Euscelis decoratus*. The production of the latter two is negligible in comparison to the amount produced by the former two. These insects group together on this shrub, sometimes to the number of one hundred. Puncturing the bark, they suck in the sap, and in a manner not unlike the bees, elaborate the manna within themselves. Then from the anus of these insects proceeds, after the manner of excrement, a syrupy, transparent, white (sometimes yellowish) liquid, which on attaining a certain size falls. The drops of this liquid on issuing are of a viscous consistency. The production of this manna reaches a maximum when the insect attains the adult stage. Much of this liquid clings to the branches and leaves of the shrub; some, however, falls to the ground.

¹¹ Post, *ibid.*

¹² Cladder, *ibid.*

¹³ Thus Ubach, *o.c.*, 96, summing up the results of Bodenheimer's study: "El mannà del Sinaí no és degut a una exsudació biològica del *tamarix mannifera*, sinó . . . a l'acció d'una panerola o coccinel . la."

¹⁴ E.g., J. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, II, London, 1838, 50.

¹⁵ *O.c.* 55s.

During the cold of the night this liquid does not crystallize, but retains a certain consistency; when the heat is excessive, it drips profusely from the shrub.¹⁶

In the course of a few days, provided the air is dry, the drops of this liquid crystallize, assuming the approximate size of a pea and a color more or less white. The manna thus crystallized remains in this state, and *is not affected by the heat*.¹⁷

In the morning a certain quantity of manna falls from the branches of the shrub and is to be found scattered about below. About nine o'clock a species of ant (called *Dude*) puts in an appearance and gathers all the manna it finds on the ground; not infrequently it invades the shrub itself, where it collects both manna and manna-producing insects.¹⁸ Hence the necessity on the part of the bedawin who collect this manna to perform the task in the early morning.

In its crystallized state the manna is peculiarly aromatic and tastes like honey; it is consequently considered a luxury and highly appreciated by the bedawins, who use it to sweeten drinks and in the confection of sweets. The surplus they sell to the monks of Mt. Sinai.

In some years the phenomenon does not occur at all; this is found to be the case when there has been little or no rainfall the preceding winter. The production of the manna, in fact, depends almost entirely on the abundance of the winter rain.¹⁹ As for the amount of manna produced in the peninsula we must prudently confess ignorance. Bodenheimer²⁰ asserts that shortly before the war one and one-half kilo per man was collected each day; he omits, however, the highly relevant information concerning how many persons were engaged in collecting the manna of the peninsula. The total has been estimated by some to be from five to six hundred litres in years of abundance.²¹

¹⁶ For a more detailed description of this process, cf. Bodenheimer, *ibid.* and Ubach, *ibid.*

¹⁷ Bodenheimer, *o.c.*, 60: "Die einmal auskristallisierten Mannakörnchen sind fest und verändern, wenigstens in der trockenen Atmosphäre des Sinai, ihre Konsistenz nicht mehr."

¹⁸ *Id.*, *o.c.*, 56; Ubach, *ibid.*

¹⁹ Bodenheimer, *o.c.*, 57, gleaned this information from a bedawi connected with the monastery of St. Catharine.

²⁰ *Ibid.* This information was also given by the aforementioned bedawi.

²¹ Ubach, *ibid.*

IDENTITY OF THE TWO MANNAS

Passing now to the comparison of the natural manna with that described by the sacred author, we shall endeavor to ascertain whether the properties of the biblical manna are present in the manna of Sinai. From the description of this latter in the works of Bodenheimer and Ubach, the points of identity with the biblical manna are many, justifying, in consequence, our proposal to identify the two. In most cases a mere juxtaposition suffices to prove the identity of the respective qualities. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that there remain serious difficulties if we accept the complete identity of the two mannas *sine alio*.

Let us first note that both the time and the place of appearance agree for the one and the other manna. Thus, the natural phenomenon today extant occurs in the *very* place where the biblical manna first appeared. Moreover, since the *Tamarix mannifera* is found also in the Desert of Tih, around Petra, and along the southern and eastern shores of the Dead Sea, it would seem that the natural phenomenon occurs all along the ancient route of the Israelites. It is also a curious coincidence that the manna was first gathered by the Israelites in that season of the year when the manna of Sinai first appears. According to the biblical narrative the fact took place on the sixteenth day of the second month of their departure from Egypt.²² We can take the text to mean either that the Israelites arrived in the desert of Sin exactly one month and fifteen days after their departure from Egypt, which would take us to the first of the third month (later Sivan), or that they arrived on the fifteenth day of the second month (later Iyyar), in which case the latter half of Nisan counts as the first month. We are consequently brought, in our calendar, either to May 15-June 1 *circa* or to May 1-15 *circa*. In either case the date of the appearance of the biblical manna may be made to agree with the time of the year when the natural phenomenon commences. It is likewise to be noted that the nausea experienced by the Israelites because of the monotony of their diet is related in a corresponding part of the year, some few days after the twenty-third day of the second month in the second year of their departure from Egypt.²³ A proper estima-

²² We assume the substantial agreement of the calendar in use here and the calendar used after the exile.

²³ This date is given by Num. 10:11 and corresponds to the departure of the Israelites from Sinai.

tion of the time elapsed between Num. 20:1 and 21:5, where again the people murmur against Moses because of the manna, also takes us to the season during which the natural manna falls; for in Num. 20:1 we are in the first month (Nisan) and the events recorded up to 21:5 exact the passing of some two months at least.

We may further call to mind the following *certain* points of identity: first, that both are to be found on the face of the desert—that is, on the ground; second, that they both appear with the dew—that is to say, in the early morning; third, that they both disappear at the heat of the day, or about nine o'clock. It may be objected that the sacred author links the disappearance of the manna with, and consequently seems to attribute it to, the heat of the sun. We have already seen that this is only a possible, and, at the most, probable interpretation of Ex. 16:21c; for the sacred author may have been only determining the time of disappearance. But, granted that he actually attributes the disappearance of the manna to the action of the sun, this would hardly prevent the identification of the two mannas; it is a well-known and generally accepted principle of hermeneutics that the inspired writer describes physical processes as they appear to him, in a manner adapted to his own and to his readers' intelligence. Hence he would be repeating the common opinion of his day, for that matter an opinion, let us emphasize, that had been held in regard to the Sinaitic manna until the conclusive study of Bodenheimer proved that the manna is removed by ants.²⁴

Moreover, the manna of today satisfies the biblical description of the manna in all its essential qualities. Thus as regards size, the biblical manna was of the magnitude of a coriander seed,

²⁴ In his opinion these ants were originally mentioned Ex. 16:20; thus, *o.c.*, 87: "Die Bibel kennt zwar ein besonderes Wort *Nemalah* für Ameise, es ist aber an der betreffenden Stelle der allgemeine Begriff Tholaath... verwandt. Hier vermag folgende Episode Aufklärung zu schaffen. Ich fragte unsere Begleitbeduinen nach dem arabischen Namen für die zahlreichen Ameisen der Tamariskenhaine und erhielt als Antwort Dude. Das Wort Dude entspricht aber begriffsmässig genau dem hebräischen Tholaath. Auf meine weitere Frage, ob es denn nicht Nimleh (=Nemalah) wären, bejahten sie dies. Sie kannten also ebenfalls beide Begriffe und gaben trotzdem den Obergriff an. Die mündliche Tradition wird wohl ebenfalls so gehandelt haben. Die späteren Schreiber wussten nicht mehr, dass es sich um Ameisen handelte, und daher stammt dann die an sich bei dieser Auslegung unverständliche Interpolation."

which is roughly equivalent to the size of a pea; this conforms with the size of the modern manna.²⁵ Furthermore, both are of the same color—white, tending towards yellow. The taste, too, is the same; for the manna of Sinai, just as that of the Bible, resembles honey and like honey is oily in taste. They are both made into tarts or cakes; the manna of today, consequently, can be prepared in various ways, as is expressly stated of the manna of yore. As for the similarity to מַן, if this is to be interpreted as a gum, the identity of the two mannas is confirmed, since the natural manna presents just such an appearance; if, however, it is to be taken as a precious stone, the resemblance would then consist in the fact that the manna glistens in the light of the sun; there is also some resemblance in the manna of today to an unpolished jewel.

We are yet treading on fairly certain ground, and our explanation hitherto can, no doubt, be accepted. Now, however, we meet with some difficulty in the form of objections raised against the identity of the two mannas. Most of these objections revolve about certain supernatural properties of the biblical manna which are not verified in the manna of today, thus supposedly indicating the difference of the two mannas.²⁶ That these properties are not present today is quite true; that their absence, however, shows a difference in nature between the two mannas is quite another question. In fact, we hold this conclusion to be unfounded.

These properties are not present today, nor should they be looked for; for they are in the sphere of the supernatural and were found on that particular occasion for particular reasons. They did not affect the nature of the manna in such manner as to render it an entirely different substance. They were merely *accidental* qualities which accompanied the manna only on that occasion. This assertion is not groundless; it is to be noted that the sacred writer himself does not consider them as essential to the manna. When he repeats the description of the manna (Num. 9:6-9), there is no mention of these supernatural de-

²⁵ Thus both Bodenheimer, *o.c.*, 86, and Ubach, *o.c.*, 98.

²⁶ This objection is thus stated by Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, IV, Paris, 1908, 662: "Pour réaliser ces conditions (of the biblical description), Dieu devait apporter de telles modifications à la constitution substantielle de la manne naturelle et aux circonstances de sa production, qu'il paraît beaucoup plus simple de croire à une création de toutes pièces."

tails. This is the more striking, because it is without doubt the sacred author's intention to describe this heavenly food in the above-cited passage of Numbers.

This distinction, therefore, is to be kept in mind when judging the relation between the two mannas. If it is conceded, the question of identity is practically solved in the affirmative, as most of the objections raised against such an identity hinge on the absence of the supernatural properties of the biblical manna in the natural phenomenon.

Let us examine these supernatural qualities singly.

God through Moses had ordained that only one gomor be collected; to sanction this ordinance He miraculously caused all to have but one gomor, despite the fact that some had disobeyed the divine injunction. Then, to instill into the minds of the Israelites an absolute confidence in divine providence, God enjoined that they consume all the manna collected on the same day, that they leave none for the morrow. Again He enforced His command by causing the manna left over to corrupt and breed worms. Then, too, the sanctity of the Sabbath must be provided for; Moses therefore announced a double portion for the sixth day, and the manna left over for the Sabbath did not corrupt. Those that ventured forth on the Sabbath itself to collect manna found none. Now, it is evident that the inspired writer intends to portray all these circumstances as supernatural, for in each case they are connected with an express command of God or an already existing religious practice (the observance of the Sabbath). Consequently, since God is the direct cause of these supernatural manifestations, they cannot be looked upon as essential to the manna. Indeed, we cannot bring ourselves to consider them even as concomitant with the manna during those forty years of wandering. It is our contention that these circumstances were verified but once—namely, on the occasion of the first appearance of the manna, as related by Ex. 16. This assertion is in some measure based on the sacred text, which nowhere affirms that such circumstances everywhere attended the fall of the manna. On the contrary, in Numbers 9:6-9, where a description of manna is given, we find neither mention of these supernatural qualities nor allusion thereto.

Yet, granted that the manna of the Bible was but a natural phenomenon, how are we to account for the great surprise of the Israelites? This objection, as is evident, rests on the suppo-

sition that a natural phenomenon should cause no astonishment. This, however, is only partly true. We willingly concede that a natural phenomenon with which we are familiar should cause no astonishment; still, that the most natural of phenomena of which we know nothing can yet cause great surprise, is evident, to cite but one historical example, from the historical record of the first Egyptian expedition to the Euphrates. Familiar only with the Nile, the Egyptians marvelled at the Euphrates, which flowed in the opposite direction, and returned bearing tales of the new Nile which flowed backwards. The surprise of the Israelites is to be explained in like manner; for in Deut. 8:3,16 it is expressly stated that the manna was unknown to the Hebrews and to their fathers. Their surprise, consequently, is due to their unfamiliarity with the happening.

A further objection is raised because of the biblical assertion that the manna could be beaten with a pestle and ground, since this cannot fit the manna of today. To meet this objection Cladder²⁷ advances the opinion that it is the intention of the author simply to indicate that action whereby to this day the manna is freed from foreign substances and afterwards mixed with other ingredients to confect tarts, sweets, etc. This explanation, however, is superfluous in the presence of Ubach's categorical statement that the manna of Sinai can be beaten and pounded.²⁸

We are again up against difficulty: manna, as we know it today, is not nutritive, nor can it be found in the peninsula in sufficient abundance to satisfy the needs of the great number of Israelites. Granted! Yet we are unable to find a single text of the Bible which expressly states that the Israelites ate manna and *only* manna during those forty years. The sacred text, on the contrary, clearly indicates the presence of other foodstuffs in stating that the Israelites made tarts from the manna. It is quite certain, therefore, that they put the manna to much the same use as the bedawin today. In addition, we know that the Israelites left Egypt with all their flocks (Ex. 12:38); also we are informed of the quails²⁹ with which the Hebrews were nour-

²⁷ Hagen, *o.c.*, III, 78s.

²⁸ Ubach, *o.c.*, 98.

²⁹ Bodenheimer, *o.c.*, 86, finds a confirmation of the identity of the two mannas in comparing the phenomenon with that of the quails: "Das Tamariskenmanna ist eine jährlich wiederkehrende Erscheinung, so dass die Parallele zu den Wachteln in dieser Hinsicht gut passt."

ished on two separate occasions (Ex. 16:13; Num. 11:31-32). Hence since the sacred text does not exclude other food and on the contrary expressly mentions it, the above objection is answered in part. There yet remains, however, the question of the quantity of manna. The Bible informs us that each collected one gomor or 3.644 litres of manna. Without entering into the question of the total number of Israelites that left Egypt or computing in what proportion to the number of dependents the gomor was meted out to the gatherer, it is still evident that the amount collected in one day far exceeds the estimated yearly fall for the entire peninsula (five or six hundred litres). While it is possible that the peninsula was more densely wooded then than today, in our opinion this is to be explained by the miraculous intervention of God, who increased the natural production in order to meet the needs of His Chosen People.

A final objection is based on the fact that the manna of Sinai does not fall each day, but only during a period of some two months, hence failing to fulfil the biblical account which informs us that it appeared daily for forty years, and not only in the peninsula, but all along their route, where the manna is not to be found today. However, while we are informed that the Israelites ate manna for forty years, we are *not* informed that they did so *daily*. We are to infer, therefore, that they were nourished with the manna for forty years, but in the season of the manna. The statement has a parallel in the same account (Ex. 16:26): "Six days shall you gather, but on the seventh day there shall be nothing." It is evident that they did not gather manna the livelong day, for it disappeared with the heat of the day. In like manner are we to interpret the biblical statement that the Israelites ate manna for forty years—that is, during the season in which the manna fell. Further, to assert that the *Tamarix mannifera* does not grow, and consequently that the manna does not fall, outside the Sinaitic peninsula is a misstatement. As we have seen, Post lists places in Arabia Petraea and along the southern and eastern part of the Dead Sea, hence along a good part of the route of the Israelites. It is not at all improbable that in future expeditions the *Tamarix mannifera* will be found in other places through which the Israelites passed.

Since we have been able to meet all serious objections to the proposed identity of the two mannas, we are able, on the strength of the various identical qualities present in both, to conclude that

the manna of today is substantially the manna of the Bible. The remarkable agreement of the phenomenon as it exists today with the biblical description can hardly be merely coincidental. There is, nevertheless, a vast difference between the two that we must emphasize. While the manna of Sinai is but a purely *natural* phenomenon, the manna of the Bible occurred under circumstances which clearly suppose or indicate the intervention of God. Accordingly, we must admit that while the substance with which the Israelites were nourished was in itself most natural, yet these circumstances render the manna of the Bible, in its general complex, a supernatural manifestation. Briefly, this biblical manna was natural *quoad substantiam*, supernatural *quoad modum*.

IDENTITY OF THE TWO MANNAS IN ANTIQUITY

It is not our intention to trace the entire history of the question concerning the relation between the manna of Sinai and the manna of the Bible; the scope of the present article precludes this. But we do wish to show that our opinion is not entirely new, or better, that it has some foundation in Tradition.

While it is true that the bulk of ancient writers who had occasion to speak on the subject express the opinion that the manna was an altogether supernatural gift of God, there are some who either identify the biblical manna with that still found or allude to the same phenomenon still occurring. Chronologically, the testimony of Fl. Josephus is first to be examined; the passage dealing with this question is well known, but it is worth while to repeat it here: "Ἐτι δὲ καὶ νῦν [ῥέται] πᾶς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος, καθάπερ καὶ τότε Μωυσεῖ χαριζόμενον τὸ θεῖον κατέπεμψε τὴν διατροφήν."³⁰ This clear statement demands that we accept it at face-value—that is, as testimony to the opinion of the writer that the manna of Sinai and the manna of the Bible are one and the same. Would the absence of polemics indicate that the opinion was general?

Turning next to Origen, we find that he directly impugns the opinion of some, termed *ἐθνικοί* by him, that the biblical manna was identical with a natural phenomenon existing long before: *Μᾶν ὠνομάσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦς Ἑβραίους πρώτους θέαμα ξένον ὁρῶντας εἰπεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ, "Μᾶν", τουτέστι, "Τί τοῦτο"; ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν εἶπον, εἰ ἔθος ἦν, ὡς τινες τῶν ἐθνικῶν φασι, τὴν φύσιν τῶν τόπων ἀπ' αἰῶνος τὰ τοιαῦτα φέρειν.*³¹

³⁰ *Antiquitates Judaicae*, III, 1,6.

³¹ *Selecta in Numeros*, PG 12, 576.

In his very next sentence, however, Origen concedes the identity of the biblical manna with the natural manna of his day: Καὶ νῦν δὲ εἰ καταβαίνει μνήμης ἕνεκα μικρόν τι. Briefly, Origen denies that the manna fell in the peninsula prior to the coming of the Israelites, basing this statement on their surprise; he nevertheless admits that the manna which first fell then continued to appear to his day.

This identity is also attested by Ambrose: "Et corporeum quidem illud manna hodie plerisque in locis invenitur, sed nunc non est tanti res miraculi; quia venit quod perfectum est."³² Again an unequivocal statement of the identity of the two mannas!

These are, it is true, but three out of an infinitude of ancient writers; yet their testimony serves to show that our opinion appears with the very beginning of Christianity.

A. DEGUGLIELMO, O.F.M.

³² *Ep.* 64, 1; *PL* 16, 1271.

ORIGINS OF OLD TESTAMENT SACRIFICE

To approach the question of the origins of Old Testament sacrifice as if it were a problem may appear to be misleading. We have clear indications in the Pentateuch that Moses was inspired by God to institute a sacrificial system. Moreover, the premosaic sacrifices were made under the inspiration or at least with the approval of God. But the question calls for discussion for two principal reasons. First, both biblical and extra-biblical sources show us that the practice of sacrifice is at least as old as written history, and (externally¹ at least) the non-biblical and "natural" sacrifices do not differ substantially from biblical sacrifices. Secondly, recent scientific advances in archaeology, anthropology, and ethnology have led to new studies on the origins of sacrifice, the conclusions of which can not leave the Old Testament student unconcerned.

There is an ever-growing literature on the subject of sacrifice, especially from the pens of non-Catholic English writers. Since there is no modern work by a Catholic on the subject in English, and since Old Testament students are frequently obliged to consult such works, it may be worth while to set forth briefly the opinions of a representative group of modern English authors, evaluate their system, and outline the Catholic approach to the question.

The authors whose works I shall examine are W. Robertson Smith,² George Buchanan Gray,³ F. C. N. Hicks, Anglican Bishop of Lincoln,⁴ E. O. James,⁵ W. O. E. Oesterley,⁶ the series "Myth and Ritual,"⁷ and S. H. Hooke.⁸

Each of these works is the result of scholarly and scientific labor, and to examine them fully and fairly would require a volume. I shall, therefore, confine myself to pointing out basic objections against the principle and method which guides the authors to conclusions which we cannot accept.

¹ External similarity is admitted by all. The question is whether similar acts have similar explanations in our case.

² *The Religion of the Semites*, Edinburgh, 1889.

³ *Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1925.

⁴ *The Fullness of Sacrifice*², London, 1938 (1st Ed. 1930).

⁵ *Origins of Sacrifice*, London, 1933.

⁶ *Sacrifices in Ancient Israel*, London, 1937.

⁷ *Myth and Ritual* (Edit. by S. H. Hooke), London, 1933.

⁸ *The Origins of Early Semitic Ritual*, London, 1938.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

EVOLUTION AS A POSTULATE

First of all, then, these authors procede from a principle derived from the theory of evolution as applied to the history of religion. Religious ideas advanced *pari passu* with the growing intelligence of man. This growth was from lower forms to purer forms of religion, from "spirit" religion to spiritual religion. They would all admit that sacrifice is found at the beginning and all through the growth of early religions. But sacrifice itself began in dark, false religious environments, and went through a purification process. It was a pure product of man's emotion and intellect struggling toward the light. As man's concept of God became more refined his practice of sacrifice took on a more lofty nature.

Thus Robertson Smith, after stating with a degree of truth, "... when we wish thoroughly to study the New Testament doctrine of sacrifice, we are carried back step by step till we reach a point where we have to ask what sacrifice meant, not to the old Hebrews alone, but to the whole circle of nations of which they formed a part,"⁹ proceeds to lay down the principle, "In all the antique religions, mythology took the place of dogma."¹⁰ Moreover, belief in these myths was not obligatory nor meritorious, but, "what was obligatory or meritorious was the exact performance of certain sacred acts prescribed by religious tradition."¹¹ Myth arose only to explain ritual.

As to the concept of the gods of antiquity he has this to say, "The relation between the gods of antiquity and their worshipers was expressed in language of human relationship, and *this* language was not taken in a figurative sense but with *strict literality*."¹² The worshippers were literally of the stock of the gods.

Then, among primitive Semites kinship existed not only between gods and men but between gods and animals, and between animals and men.¹³ Hence in most ancient times sacrifice meant partaking physically of the divine life which resided in the flesh and blood of the divine animals.¹⁴

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹¹ It is hard to see how the worshippers approached the divinity if they did not have some definite concept of and belief in it. Smith does not explain.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 31; cf. p. 49, where Smith applies this idea to Semites.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 294-295.

Briefly, according to Smith, the origin of sacrifice for the Semites (and hence for Hebrews)¹⁵ was in an animistic and totemistic religion. What is higher than this in concept is a later natural development.

Gray, who does not make it his purpose so much to discuss origins as to trace the idea of sacrifice as it is pictured in the Old Testament, nevertheless considers Old Testament sacrifice to be the result of mere natural evolution from gross polytheism. He says, for example, "The great predominance of food in the sacred gifts even of later times may be traced back to an early stage of thought when the god was conceived as actually consuming human food. How far and how long this gross view survived in Hebrew popular thought it is difficult to say."¹⁶ Alleging Gen. 8:21 (Noah's offering), 1 Sam. 26:19 (David's reference to sacrifice), and Jud. 9:13 (Joatham's reference to the effect of wine on gods), he says that even if these passages are not intended literally, they are "petrified expressions. . . of long dead beliefs. . . that leave no doubt in what belief the expressions arose."¹⁷

Bishop Hicks subscribes to the ideas of Robertson Smith: "Problems of totemism and magic lie behind these (i. e. sacrificial) acts. In the primitive stage of Old Testament religion the idea of divine fatherhood took its rise. The god is the father of the clan, but in a physical sense which was later transmuted into a spiritual. The fatherhood rested obviously on the idea of the blood bond of common life."¹⁸

It is this blood bond that is kept up by sacrificial acts that involve the idea of physical partaking of divine or divinized flesh or blood. Later and loftier ideas of sacrifice developed naturally and this development can be traced in the Old Testament.¹⁹

James, also, covering a wider field, supposes all sacrifices to have developed naturally as man advanced from the crasser primitive practices to loftier concepts. He expresses his thesis

¹⁵ For Smith (p. 198) the ritual of Jerusalem as described in Leviticus is based on ancient tradition going back to the time when there was no substantial difference, in point of form, between Hebrew sacrifices and those of surrounding nations.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22; cf. also his discussion of the Passover, pp. 384-5.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-38.

thus: "In its (sacrifice's) rudimentary aspects the symbols set forth a certain magico-religious outlook which, with the development of conceptual thinking, becomes intellectualized and systematized into a definite cultus."²⁰ This "magico-religious" outlook James traces back to paleolithic man. It is founded, on the one hand, on the universal and eternal desire of man for life; and on the other, on the concept that early man had of vitality. A soul substance, "capable of projection from one species to another,"²¹ was common to gods (or spirits), man, and beast. This soul substance resided in certain parts of the body, especially in the blood. Bloody sacrifices originated in the idea not of depriving an animal (or man) of life to honor or satisfy the god, or to provide mere food for the god. Rather, "The outpouring of the vital fluid in actuality, or by substitute, is the sacred act whereby life is given to promote and preserve life," and this involved "notions of the reanimation of human gods."²²

Oesterley, who states it as his aim to follow the fundamental ideas of sacrifice "through the periods of uncultured humanity, of general Semitic belief, and more especially Hebrew belief, and into Christian times,"²³ says also, "The original institution of sacrifice was based upon the conception that the supernatural and powerful beings, upon whom men were dependent, were in their nature similar to human beings, and therefore had the same needs. Like men, too, they were of variable temperament, angry and vindictive if annoyed, but kindly disposed if approached in the right spirit."²⁴

In the series of essays "Myth and Ritual" the same thought prevails,²⁵ though D. C. Simpson in the "Foreword" explains the evolutionary approach by saying, "progressive revelation necessarily issues from humble beginnings."²⁶

S. H. Hooke²⁷ in his preface remarks that the Hebrew people "were under the influence of the culture-pattern dominant in the Near East in the middle of the second millennium B.C.," and adds "it was not until the beginning of the great prophetic movement in the eighth century B.C. that Hebrew religion began to break

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 33. James explicitly rejects the totem theory on p. 47.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

²⁵ Cf. p. 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xii.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

away.... and to shape its own distinctive contribution to the history of religion." And he refers to the "wonder of achievement of those Hebrew seers."²⁸

Now "this wonder of achievement" is one of the principal reasons why we reject the idea that the origins of Old Testament religion and sacrifice can be adequately explained as a mere human growth. While we can admit growth, human influences, and "progressive revelation," no theory which rejects the supernatural direction guiding growth, influences, and revelation can be satisfactory. An appeal to the prophets and their lofty concepts leaves still unanswered the question, "Why did such men arise in Israel, a nation in so many ways the cultural inferior of its neighbors?" And when that question is answered, there will remain this second question, "If men of this type could arise in Israel in the eighth century B.C. what difficulty is there against saying men of prophetic gifts and mentality arose four (or even more) centuries earlier?"²⁹ The principle of the mere natural evolution of the Old Testament sacrifice runs afoul of facts sooner or later, and once discarded it leaves the way for a fairer approach to the question.

FALSE METHODS

The method, too, of modern writers on this subject is open to criticism. Too commonly they gather facts most widely separated in time and place, explain one by the other, and then form a synthesis which is used to explain Old Testament sacrifice. This method is what makes the conclusions of Robertson Smith weak.³⁰ From the ideas of totemism and tabu as observed in uncultured tribes of our day, he arrives at the conclusion that totemism and tabu explain the origins of religion. From *certain*³¹ totemistic practices he concludes to the fact that such ceremonies as eating of the tabu involved the idea of incorporating the divine life principle of the totem animal into the partaker. Then he turns to the Semites and finds warrant for saying that there were *traces* that Semitic sacrifices had the same origin. And a cardinal fact in his proof is an *incident* reported by Nilus.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

²⁹ We must emphasize that we are rejecting these principles as inadequate to explain O. T. religious ideas.

³⁰ Smith was greatly influenced by the works of Wellhausen and of Frazer, and he in turn has greatly influenced writers who came after him.

³¹ Totemism, even where it *clearly* exists, may have several explanations.

Nilus, writing of the Saracens of Sinai at the end of the fourth century A.D., says that when the ordinary sources of food (pillage and hunting) failed, they used their camels for food supply. But only one camel was killed for a tribe or clan group. When the camel was killed all the kinsmen hastily devoured it though it was only slightly cooked.

Now Robertson Smith argues that since only a clan indulged in the slaughter of a camel it must be that the clan considered the camel their kin. Because individual members of a clan could only be killed by the clan as a group. This points to totemism. Besides, the unwillingness to kill camels and certain other domestic animals went back to the time of totemism. The eagerness for eating "living flesh" attests to the idea of a communion sacrifice surviving from antiquity. Hence, he holds that originally sacrifice (even human sacrifice) was prompted by the idea of receiving into oneself the divine life through a victim considered sacred.³²

Father Lagrange³³ has a masterly criticism of Robertson Smith's theory. He points out that the totemism of the Semites is an unproved postulate.³⁴

There is nowhere any clear indication that the victim was considered as having a divine character. A strong rule was that the blood (in which was the life) was not drunk nor eaten. Again, even supposing there was *some* idea of relationship between animals and men, there is nowhere evidence that animals were treated as divine relatives.

Lagrange also points out a fact with regard to the reluctance of early peoples, especially the Semites, to kill animals whether domestic or wild. Domestic animals as long as they were useful were ill-spared by poor nomads or farmers. So also the females were more valuable alive than dead. They provided milk and increase. Wild animals were spared also lest their supply should disappear as a result of too indiscriminate killing. It is not necessary to transform what was simple primitive frugality into a tabu to explain the facts that Smith presents.

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 262 ff.

³³ M. J. Lagrange, O.P., *Etudes sur les Religions Sémitiques*, Paris, 1905. pp. 247-274.

³⁴ Others have rejected Smith for the same reason; cf. Hooke, *op. cit.*, p. 64; and James, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

Again, the fact that the killing of a domestic animal such as a camel was made a communal act among Arabs is easily explained, first by the fact that Arabs do very few things in private; secondly, the clan has a claim to part of its members' property; and thirdly, if famine forced the killing of domestic animals, surely as few as possible would be killed for the welfare of the whole clan. Thus Robertson Smith's attempt to reduce his Semitic facts to a totemistic communion sacrifice fails.

James rejects Smith's theory with these words: "However much the (totemic sacramental meal) theory may be modified and restated, it rests upon a purely hypothetical situation without parallel *in any known culture*." But James's theory of soul-substance transferable from the sacrificial victim to the gods, or to the divine King, or to men, cannot fairly be applied to Old Testament sacrifices. However true his theory may be of some "primitive" peoples of modern times, it certainly has not enough factual evidence to make it the basis of Semitic and much less of Hebrew sacrifice.

James leans heavily on Frazer and authors of Frazer's school. But however similar in external rite practices of aborigines of Australia are to Semitic practices of ancient times, there is no logical warrant for conclusions to identity of underlying concept and motive in those practices. One may remark here, by the way, that if we accept the explanation of these rites given by present day natives to a European visitor as authentic and exact, why refuse a biblical author credence when he explains his rites for his own people? Again, some sacrifices alleged by James do have the signification he proposes. But the mass of data he presents when sifted give us comparatively few solid cases of the transfer of soul-substance, and these are from modern observations of "primitive" tribes. And two points are to be observed with regard to these data. First, we have no sure proof that the religious history of these primitives has not known advance *and regression*. Secondly, we cannot always be sure that the observers got at the real explanation of the practices. For instance, James's interpretation of Bontoc head-hunting as a part of fertility rites is hardly certain.³⁵ To take the head of a member of an enemy tribe was to bring home proof of valor for the Filipino mountain tribes.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.

But above all, to introduce "head-hunting practices" etc. to explain Old Testament sacrifice is clearly far-fetched. Killing, even ritual-killing, is capable of many interpretations and there are actually many interpretations given.

When we come to examine the relationship of biblical sacrifice to that of the neighbors of the Hebrews, there is more reason naturally to expect similarity. We know, for instance, from Scripture itself that the Hebrew people were often profoundly influenced by the religion of their neighbors. They often took over and practiced their identical rites.³⁶ To explain *such* sacrifices it is perfectly legitimate to turn to Egypt, Mesopotamia, Ras Shamra or Chanaan itself. But there is a *religious struggle* represented in the recording of these sacrifices that goes far back into Hebrew history. And if this fact is not recognized, no satisfactory explanation can be given to the origin of Old Testament sacrifice. No such struggle is found in any of the other Semitic religions, and the cause of this phenomenon is not reasonably explained by any theory of mere natural evolution.

THE CATHOLIC APPROACH

But this brings us to the subject of the Catholic approach to the question. Let us say from the beginning, that, even if we prescind from revelation, to approach the question with an ideal pattern or paradigm before us, into which the rites of all men and all times are to be fitted according to an ever ascending scale of religious culture, is neither scientific nor critical. And again, as long as we sincerely admit that God, as a matter of objective fact, has a special place in Old Testament history, we must admit that it is impossible to equate the whole body of Hebrew religious practices with those of other peoples. Such an approach will enable us to examine facts without prejudice.

But facts must be checked and weighed to see their value for our question.

The facts, of course, must be compared and collated *inter se* and with Holy Scripture. In assembling and studying facts thus connected with ritual we must ever keep in mind the psychological, ethnological, and theological aspects behind ritualism.

³⁶ Among countless examples, cf. Solomon's idolatry, 2 Kgs. 11; Jero-boam's reign, 3 Kgs. 12; and the history of Elias, 3 Kgs. 18.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT OF RITUALISM

Psychologically, there is within man an urge toward symbolic expression of deep emotions and thoughts. Modern writers of all schools will admit this.³⁷ The most common and most easily available means for such expression will be found used among all men. Examples would be the use of simple gestures, the use of water. This clearly does not mean that every use of water, for example, had the same meaning, even in its beginning. A second psychological consideration is the tendency to "rationalize" a practice whose significance is not clear or is outmoded. Here I shall only note that "rationalization" of itself may be to a higher *or a lower* plane.

The importance of these considerations is clear. If food is offered to the divinity among all peoples, it is a result of a natural carrying out of natural desire. But it does not necessarily follow that the idea behind the ritual is the same in every case where we find such offerings. Nor does it follow that the explanation given for such a ritual practiced among "primitive tribes" today was the original explanation. In fact one fertile field for the parallels of writers on this subject (the practices of Arabs) is also a field where one can observe the corruption and changing of ideas in ritual. Many writers take too little account of ethnological currents, in the sense that they can be many, and in many directions.

ETHNOLOGICAL ASPECT

In recent investigations, for instance, the question of how much effect the Hebrew and the Christian religious ideas had on non-Hebrews and non-Christians has not been thoroughly examined. The supposition seems to be that revealed religion was influenced but did not influence; that practices represented in the Old and New Testament can be explained by other religions but can bring no light towards explaining them. And here the question of primitive revelation must enter any full study of the problem. That is a question into which I can not enter here.

THEOLOGICAL ASPECT

But where Catholics most of all have to exercise care is in evaluating the theological implications in the sacrifices presented in the Old Testament.

³⁷ Cf., for example, James, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

Critical scholars admit the tremendous superiority of the Hebrew concept of sacrifice over the concept of their neighbors in the eighth century B.C. How explain such superiority naturally? Now the other Semitic religions clearly did not advance from the first records we have to the eighth century. If a prophetic leader of the eighth century B.C. could rise so far above his contemporaries, why could not a prophetic leader of the twelfth century B.C. do the same?

Naturally speaking, we must appeal to *some* element in Hebrew religion to explain the *fact* that they did reach such heights. And non-Catholic scholars do not any longer put great emphasis on the "peculiar genius" of the Hebrews which urged them towards ever purer forms of religion. Their own history shows where their natural instincts led them. The explanatory element is supernatural revelation.

Ritualism, it is true, came naturally to man and to the Hebrews. The type of ritual they used was "natural" to a great extent. They expressed their relationship to God by symbols which had much in common with symbolic acts of their neighbors, just as the words by which they expressed this relationship had much in common with their neighbors.³⁸

Their way of conceiving this relationship, however, was superior to the way their neighbors conceived it. When the Israelite sacrificed he was trying to express or to effect some relationship with God, just as his neighbors were. He was acknowledging God's authority and prior rights to all creation, or expressing gratitude, or trying to gain a favor, or atoning for evil done. He was approaching God as a Father, as a King, as a Master, but the God he conceived was one and spiritual.

This idea of God so much emphasized by the prophets, precisely in their discussions of sacrifice, is considered by moderns as the contribution of what they call "*prophetic religion*." We can concede that contention, provided that the word "prophetic" applies to the great leaders of the nation even before the eighth century B.C. All the great minds of Israel, which we call prophets, were engaged in the struggle I mentioned above. They were always trying to lead their nation away from false concepts

³⁸ Cf. the sacrifice of Elias where he uses the same victims, on the same altar with the priests of Baal, but calls on the true God, 3 Kgs. 18.

of God which involved false and gross concepts of sacrifice. From Moses on we witness this polemic.³⁹

MOSAIC AND PREMOSAIC CONCEPT OF SACRIFICE

What, then, was the Mosaic concept of sacrifice? Certainly in the codification of Moses there is no justification for saying that sacrifice arose from grosser concepts of divinity. With the concept of Mosaic sacrifice there seems to be little difficulty. It was fundamentally a gift. The very first sentence in the first chapter of Leviticus (v.2) indicates this. At the beginning of the discussion of sacrifice we have the statement: "The man among you that shall offer the Lord a sacrifice of the cattle," etc., which literally from the Hebrew reads "The man . . . that shall present a present (or offering)"; and throughout the first seven chapters of Leviticus these "Korbanim"⁴⁰ are enumerated, named, and described frequently according to their motive or purpose. There are burnt offerings (1:13), peace-offerings (3:16), sin offerings (4:23 ff).

In the Mosaic system what was the distinction between a mere gift and a sacrifice? Buchanan Gray⁴¹ seems to place the "differentia" in ritual presentation at the altar. Lagrange, as we shall see later, places it in immolation. Suffice it to say, for the present, that both ideas⁴² entered at least into the more perfect sacrifices.

But sacrifice existed before Moses; and an idea of its origin can perhaps be gained by a view of premosaic sacrifice. Now the sacrifices described in Genesis as premosaic are remarkable in this, that while the practice is usual, it is only in two places represented as prescribed by God.⁴³ The time and manner of sacrificing seems to have been free. We are left in doubt by the

³⁹ Cf. Mosaic prohibitions with regard to imitating Chanaanitic religious practices. To discuss the Documentary Theory in this connection would require too much space. Suffice it to say that nowadays authors admit a very ancient core for the documents they call late, and particularly in this question of ritual practices; cf. note 15 above, and Fr. James J. Doherty's article in *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, I (1939), p. 232 ff.

⁴⁰ In Num. 7, the same word is used for gifts by princes to the tabernacle.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.

⁴² Even as late as Malachy (1:7-14) the gift idea is emphasized, and precisely with victims that were immolated. On immolation Cf. Father McHugh's discussion in the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* I (1939) pp. 22-26.

⁴³ The instances of Abraham, cc. 15 and 22.

text as to whether the sacrifices of Cain and Abel (Gen. 4:3-7) were the first sacrifices. In fact there are several obscurities in the passage. Whether the offerings were holocausts we do not know. But it is clear that the brothers each offered of his best gifts, fruits of his toil, animals and vegetables. We have the idea at least of the gift presented to God, with a desire of assuring the divine benevolence. By implication either sacrifice would have been acceptable to God (cf. Heb. 11:14); it was something in Cain, a moral lack, which made his gift unacceptable (however we interpret verse 7).

The sacrifice of Noah (Gen. 8:20-21) was a burnt-offering of *clean animals*. Here for the first time in dealing with sacrifice we have the use of the expression "clean" animal. Clearly it means animals that were used as *food*. The sacrifice was one of thanksgiving. The fact that these sacrifices were *food-offerings* and that no explanation is given as to how the offerers imagined them to be of use to God, might lead to the idea that they believed that God shared in them somehow physically. This is especially so in the case of Noah's sacrifice, of which it is said that God *smelled* the sweet savor. However, it is clear that the basic idea was a gift. And I believe Father Lagrange is right when he says⁴⁴ that the offering of food was a natural act of symbolism. It was not presented to God with the idea that God needed it. The act was in the nature of a gift of a simple child to his parents, or of an Oriental to a superior. Little as the gift was, it was a symbol of what he would like to give. The use that the receiver made of the gift matters little if at all for explaining the act. The whole purpose is to fulfill a duty, to satisfy a natural desire. The gift, however, to be sincere had to be as valuable as possible. The most precious gift in the simpler state of society came from the flocks and fields, from the food supply. These would be offered to any friend or superior. Simply, therefore, they were offered to God. Animals were more precious than cereals, hence their pre-eminence in sacrifice. They were killed because there would have been no external sign of a sincere offering if they had not been withdrawn from their usefulness to man.

Once this idea is admitted, all types of sacrifice can be explained by the gift theory: impetration, thanksgiving, atone-

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 270 ss.

ment—all except communion-sacrifice. But the step is easy. If there has been estrangement, it is dissipated. The lord now prepares a banquet, he shares the goods of his table with the subject. Father Lagrange ends his exposition thus: "These considerations, very simple and very ordinary, in the Orient, explain the communion-sacrifice." They explain also why God could be considered as pleased with the savor. The divine pleasure was expressed in terms which would describe the reaction of a human friend at a banquet.

If the early Babylonian and other neighbors of the early Hebrews went through the ritual of actually preparing a banquet for the gods to eat, this could be an elaboration of a simpler act of earlier times. And if human sacrifice became a practice among some Semites, again this was a perverted outgrowth of the simple original concept. That is, the more precious the gift the greater the affection shown. And conversely a greater benevolence was expected on the part of the receiver.

DIFFICULTIES IN PATRIARCHAL SACRIFICE

During the patriarchal period sacrifice was frequent and an ordinary mode of approaching God (cf. Gen. 12:7; 13:4,18, etc.). The ram substituted for Isaac in Gen. 22 immediately suggests a question. Does this incident indicate a possible origin of at least some sacrifices? Does this text, taken with the insistence in the Mosaic Law on the redemption of the first born (cf. Ex. 13:2,12; 22:29; 34:19-20) and the fact that human sacrifice was practiced in the ancient East, indicate a common practice from earliest times? The mentality of Abraham and of the Mosaic legislation would seem to admit the principle at least which the other Semites carried out in practice. In the case of Abraham, his promptness to sacrifice his son without question shows that he admitted God's *right* to his son. But his answer to Isaac's question, "God will provide himself a victim," as well as the question itself hints, to say the least, at a surprised attitude of mind in the face of the divine command, so to actuate that right.

Abraham's reactions in the scene are far from those of a man accustomed to human sacrifice. Though God had a right to demand the first-born, it was pictured as an unusual event when he demanded that first-born in sacrifice. So also with the redemption of the first-born in the Mosaic code. God's right over

His gifts to man extended even to the first-born of his own flesh and blood. A *symbolic* recognition of this was required. The act of redemption satisfied.

The practice of covenant sacrifices is found in patriarchal times. The mysterious scene in Gen. 15, where God seals His covenant by symbolic fire passing through the slain animals, and the sacrifice performed by Jacob and Laban to seal their covenant in Gen. 31:44-55, are instances. This latter is the first clearly described example of such a sacrifice in Old Testament history.

It is well known that throughout the history of the Orient the sharing of a meal made a sacred tie between the sharers. For one of the parties to violate that tie was criminal. Now by sealing this bond by a banquet-sacrifice, the divinity became a third member of the pact, and its violation involved a peculiar wrong done to God Himself. The simplest explanation, then, following Father Lagrange's outline, would be that this sacrifice was a further extension of the banquet sacrifice.

It is clear that Moses codified and extended *pre-existing* sacrificial practices of his people. So we must look to patriarchal times for the deeper explanation of the origin of Hebrew sacrifice. Here we are faced with the fact that the patriarchs had ideas in common with their neighbors and pagan kinsmen. The incident of Abraham and Melchisedech, of Jacob and Laban, are examples of this. Would there not, then, be some truth in the rationalistic statements with regard to the origin of sacrifice? They assert that Old Testament sacrifice grew out of the pagan concepts. S. H. Hooke,⁴⁵ who holds for such a theory, leaves it an open question "whether they (the Hebrews) borrowed these main outlines from their neighbors together with the terminology of the sacrifices, adapting their borrowings to the worship of their own god, Jahweh," or whether both people received the substance from a common source. Now we may say that Abraham, worshipping the true God, did adapt religious practices that were common and natural expressions of religious needs of all people, to his worship of the God who was leading him to found a people. But it seems to me the second alternative is more in keeping with the general spirit of the Old Testament: to suppose that from a common source, which knew a *simple* religion, with simple practices sanctioned by God, at least in a general

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

way at intervals, there grew the types of ancient Semitic religions of Old Testament times. The bulk of these religions became of a type that was crass, polytheistic, debasing God while striving to honor Him. The others by the disposition of Divine Providence held to a religion which, however *imperfect*, was not false. Similarity of ritual argues to relationship with false religions only with regard to the *external* element. God is represented in Holy Scripture as leading His people ever farther away from their pagan kinsmen and neighbors, bringing them to an even more perfect religious ideal. He did just this with regard to their religious practices. It is not only in the New Testament that old forms and formulas are given new meaning under God's inspiration.

CONCLUSION

The full concept, therefore, of Old Testament sacrifice must be one which from the very beginning admits of human influences and divine influences. Scripture itself attests to the human influences, and modern rationalistic research has made the most of this testimony. It is, however, unscientific to suppose that the origin and development of sacrificial ideas is purely human. Scripture itself attests to the divine direction given to the growth of the Israelitic concepts. It is impossible adequately to account for this growth (which even rationalists admit) without accepting the scriptural explanation. *Every* nation outside Israel, in the admission of every student, failed to accomplish such a growth. Israel, less cultured than these nations, *somehow* preserved its ideals of sacrifice. To explain that "somehow" it is not sufficient, as I have said, to appeal to the "peculiar genius" of the Hebrew people. In view of Old Testament history we know that they had a natural tendency to follow the grosser religions of their neighbors.

The leaders and the prophets, it is true, kept the ideal alive and developed it. But there remains still to explain why such men arose *naturally* in Israel alone. And also the fact that these teachings managed to persevere, though they seemed often in vain. These are real difficulties for the evolutionary and rationalistic theories to answer. We have the answer: God's divine providence preserving, directing, and preparing the purer ideas and ideals of men for the day of the great sacrifice of the Divine Victim on Calvary.

JAMES E. COLERAN, S.J.

THE CONSEQUENT SENSE

The history of exegesis is witness to the fact that from earliest times students of the Bible have been intrigued by the problem of whether in the sacred text there is something more to be discovered than the mere, obvious meaning of the words. Does the text perhaps contain a deeper meaning expressed by God and left to the ingenuity of the human mind to detect? The investigation of such questions as these led to the correct understanding of the typical sense. It also led to the often extravagant interpretations of the allegorical school, and later, to the strange aberrations of the Cabalists, as well as to the classic discussion regarding the multiple literal sense.

The purpose of the present paper is to investigate a problem pertinent in scope to the questions just mentioned. It, too, is concerned with a deeper meaning of the Sacred Text. Briefly, it seeks to determine the nature and importance of the so-called "Consequent Sense." It seeks, in particular, an answer to the question: Is the truth contained in a conclusion which has been deduced by strict reasoning from an explicit biblical proposition in any way a real biblical sense? For example: if I should find somewhere in the Scriptures the explicit proposition, Christ was a man, and then on this proposition I should build the syllogism: Christ was a man; *Atqui*, man has a body and soul: *Ergo*, Christ has a body and a soul; would that conclusion, Christ had a body and a soul, be a strict biblical sense, would it be the word of God? Could I, in a word, invoke the authority of Scripture for that conclusion and state: the Bible teaches that Christ had a body and a soul?

Notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, the problem of the consequent sense is not an idle question. It is, in fact, a fundamental problem. If the consequent sense is a true biblical sense, it then forms a part of the proper object of exegesis just as much as the literal or typical senses. It becomes, too, part of the work of the exegete to explore this sense just as he does the other accepted senses. Moreover, this problem has its roots deep in theology in as much as it is intimately connected with such questions as the nature of theology, the extent of revelation, and the development of doctrine.

This paper, however, does not intend to present a thesis, but rather to promote discussion on a subject which deserves more

attention than it usually receives. Arguments will be presented in favor of the consequent sense, but this will be done much more to invite discussion than because it is believed that the point is proved beyond doubt.

Naturally a thorough treatment of the question cannot be attempted here. Our presentation of it will aim rather to mark out the broad lines of the problem with some suggestions for a probable solution.

THE TESTIMONY OF AUTHORITY

It goes without saying that we cannot expect to find in the N. T. or in the writings of the Fathers an express treatment of the consequent sense. These sources, however, do yield strong evidence to support the contention that the existence of a consequent sense was presupposed by the N. T. writers and the Fathers of the Church, even though not expressly named.

Frequently enough, these authorities are found proposing doctrine or moral teaching which they claim is the word of God or is taught by the Holy Spirit; and yet, such teaching is not found formally expressed in the texts of Scripture to which they appeal, but is deduced from these texts by a process of reasoning. Nor is there a distinction made between the word of God as deduced from, and the word of God formally expressed in, a citation from the Scriptures. Both are treated as being the meaning of the text, the expression of the Holy Spirit. Such procedure, it would seem, is the equivalent of admitting a consequent sense to be a true biblical sense.

As an example of this usage in the N. T. let us examine the interesting passage from 1 Cor. 9:8-10. St. Paul cites a prescription of the law from Deut. 25:4 to demonstrate the right of the evangelical laborer to worthy sustenance: "Speak I these things according to man? or doth not *the law also say these things?* For it is written in the law of Moses: Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen? Or doth he say this indeed for our sakes? For *these things are written for our sakes:* that he that plougheth, should plough in hope and he that thrasheth, in hope to receive fruit." Clearly here the Apostle is reasoning from the text of the Law to another case quite distinct. He argues *a fortiori*,¹ yet with the

¹ Cf. Cornely, *Cursus*, 1 Cor., p. 248; also, Allo, *Première Épître aux Corinthiens*, Paris (1934), p. 217.

formula "Scriptum est," implying therefore that his conclusion was in some way contained in the original proposition, was in some way its meaning or sense.²

Only the briefest survey of the usage of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church can be given here. Suffice it to say that frequently in their writings do they construct arguments on the text; and (which is important) in many instances of this sort are they found to assert that their conclusions or deductions are the meaning or sense of the texts which they are interpreting. Nor can this procedure be explained by reducing all these examples to a mere use of accommodation. In fact, unless we allow that a conclusion drawn from a biblical text is in some way the sense of that text, or in other words, unless we admit the Consequent Sense, we cannot adequately explain many commentaries of the Fathers, or we must simply accuse them of exaggeration. Moreover, it should be noted that not infrequently when the Fathers refer to a spiritual or mystical sense they mean by this, not our typical sense, but evidently from the context, a real consequent sense.³

We shall now set down in a summary way a series of references to the Fathers, Doctors, and more recent authors. A careful collation of these references yields interesting results regarding the mind of these authorities with respect to the consequent sense.

Most striking is the statement of St. Augustine in his *Doctrina Christiana*:⁴ "Et certe Dei Spiritus, qui per eum (autorem) haec operatus est, etiam ipsam occursuram lectori vel auditori, sine dubitatione praevidit; immo ut occurreret *quia et ipsa est veritate subnixa* providit." Not less expressive is Origen,⁵ in recommending that the consequences be drawn from the texts of Scripture. Other Fathers and Doctors offer in their writings interesting reflections relative to this subject, e.g., St. Gregory

² Cf. also: 1 Tim. 5:17; 2 Cor. 8:14 and Ex. 16:18; Heb. 5:5. and Ps. 2:7 with Acts 13:33. Cf. Vaccari, *Inst. Biblicae*, Roma (1935²), p. 108; Mt. 8:16 and Isa. 53:4; Mt. 22:32 and Ex. 3:6; Ps. 15:10 and Acts 2:27 ff.

³ Cf. Patrizi, *De Interpretatione Bibliorum*, Roma (1876²), p. 268. Cornely, *Introd. Gen.* Vol. I, p. 550; St. Hil. PL 9, 758.

⁴ PL 34, 80.

⁵ PG 11, 121.

Nazianzen,⁶ St. Anselm,⁷ St. Thomas Aquinas,⁸ St. Robert Bellarmine,⁹ and Scotus.¹⁰

The works of more recent authors usually offer some treatment of the consequent sense. Among these a number speak of the utility of the consequent sense but deny that it can be properly spoken of as a biblical sense, e.g., Cornely,¹¹ Breen,¹² Cellini,¹³ Doeller,¹⁴ Kortleitner,¹⁵ Fernandez,¹⁶ Renié,¹⁷ Lusseau-Collomb.¹⁸ Others either simply assume that it is a strict biblical sense or advance arguments to support their assumption, e.g., Patrizi,¹⁹ Ubaldi,²⁰ Hetzenauer,²¹ Marin-Sola,²² C. Pesch,²³ Prado.²⁴ Of these latter, Marin-Sola in his important work on the evolution of Catholic dogma has given us a set of principles which, if carefully applied to the present question, seem to offer a straightforward solution of it. Such an application will be attempted in the following sections of the present paper.

⁶ PG 36, 159.

⁷ PL 158, 321.

⁸ *III Sent.* 25 q. 2, art. 2 ad 4 et art. 1, sol. 3; *III q.* 35 a. 4 ad 1. *III q.* 27, a. 4; *III q.* 75, a. 2; *II IIae q.* 1, a. 7; *Quodl.* VII q. 6, a. 14. *De. Pot.* q. 4, a. 1; *II Sent.* dist. XII q. 1, a. 2 ad 7.

⁹ *De Purgatorio*, lib. 1, c. 15.

¹⁰ *I Sent.*, dist. 26 no. 26 ed. Vives; *IV Sent.*, dist. 11, q. 3 no. 5. Cf. also: the practice of the Church in its infallible pronouncements—Denz-B. 432, 113, 877, 899.

¹¹ *Intro. Generalis*, Vol. 1, Paris (1894²), pp. 549-552.

¹² *A General Introd. to the Study of Holy Scripture*, Rochester (1908²) p. 788.

¹³ *Propaedeutica Biblica*, Vol. III, Ripatransone (1909), pp. 31-33.

¹⁴ *Compendium Hermeneuticae Biblicae*, Paderborn (1914³), p. 25.

¹⁵ *Hermeneutica Biblica*, Innsbruck (1923), p. 34.

¹⁶ *Institutiones Biblicae*, Vol. I, Rome (1933⁴).

¹⁷ *Manuel D'Ecriture Sainte*, Tom. I, Paris (1935), p. 195.

¹⁸ *Manuel d'Etudes Bibliques*, Tom. I, Paris (1936), p. 498.

¹⁹ *De Interpretatione Bibliorum*, Rome (1876²), pp. 265-272.

²⁰ *Introductio in S. Script.* Vol. III, Rome (1881), pp. 40, 42.

²¹ *Epitome Exegeticae Biblicae Catholicae*, Innsbruck (1903), pp. 16-18, 110.

²² *L'Evolution homogène du Dogme Catholique*, Fribourg (1924²), Vol. II, p. 209, et passim.

²³ *De Inspiratione S. Scripturae*, Freiburg-i-Br. (1925²), pp. 564, 572.

²⁴ *Praelectiones Biblicae, Propaedeutica*, Turin (1935²), pp. 207-210; 233-237: R. P. Prado gives an adequate treatment of the problem, based on the doctrine of R. P. Marin-Sola, O.P.

NATURE OF THE CONSEQUENT SENSE

Radically our interest in the Sacred Scriptures is due to the fact that they constitute for us one of the chief founts of revelation. Being composed under divine inspiration, they are God's "own oracles and words"²⁵—"a letter, written by our Heavenly Father, and transmitted by the sacred writers to the human race in its pilgrimage so far from its heavenly country."²⁶ Fundamentally, then, this is the reason for our concern about canonicity, textual criticism, rules and method of interpretation. It is the ultimate reason why the exegete shows so much diligence in seeking out the exact and full meaning of the sacred text: he desires to gather the incomparable treasures of Revelation contained in this rich storehouse. Impelled by such desire, the prime concern of the exegete becomes the accurate and complete determination of the meaning or sense of the text. In fact, the proper object of all true exegesis is to discover the sense of the Scriptures. By sense is meant: that truth which God the principal Author of S. Scripture intends to express in the words of the hagiographer. God's truth, however, may be expressed in various ways. As St. Thomas says, "*Auctor sacrae Scripturae est Deus, in cujus potestate est ut non solum voces ad significandum accommodet (quod etiam homo facere potest), sed etiam ipsas res.*"²⁷ The truth expressed by the words (*voces*) we call the literal sense. Every passage of Scripture must have a literal sense; it is the basis for the investigation of the other senses.

Unlike profane literature, however, in which only the words (*voces*) signify something, Sacred Scripture frequently expresses God's truth in a spiritual or typical way (*per res*). Often events, persons, things described by the words of the text, through God's free choice, figure or typify other things. A text in which this phenomenon is found is said to have besides a literal sense, also a spiritual or typical sense. Since the use of types is arbitrary and dependent on God's intention, it follows that we cannot be certain of the existence of a typical sense without the aid of subsequent revelation.

Assuming now, that the exegete, concerned with any given passage of the Scriptures, has acquired the true literal sense

²⁵ S. Irenaeus, *Cont. Haereses* II, 28, 2.

²⁶ S. Chrys. *in Gen. Hom.* 2, 2.

²⁷ I Pars, q. 1, a. 10.

of the text, and has carefully inquired into the possibility of the existence of a typical sense, is his work finished there? Has he exhausted, obtained to the full, God's truth as expressed in that text? Or may there possibly be a fuller sense left to his ingenuity to discover? Thus far we have been concerned with the explicit sense of the Scriptures, we must now see if there can be such a thing as an implicit sense.

It is natural for the human mind, once put in contact with ideas expressed in speech or in writing, to reason these ideas out to their conclusions. Naturally, too, do we impute these conclusions to the author of the original statements, according to the German proverb: Whoever says A must also say B. Many a work has been condemned, not so much for what is said, as on account of the conclusions that naturally flow from the ideas expressed. There is no legitimate reason to believe that the Scriptures are exceptions to this general rule of all literature. In fact, it should hold here in a more particular way.²⁸ In purely human literature the author, frequently enough, is not aware of the conclusions that may be drawn from his statements. Or, if he is aware, he has no way of obtaining that these conclusions will certainly occur to the minds of his readers. With the inspired literature of the Bible it is different. Here God is the principal Author, who, as St. Augustine says of Moses, "*Sensit ille omnino in his verbis, atque cogitavit, cum ea scriberet, quidquid hic veri potuimus invenire, et quidquid nos non potuimus, aut nondum possumus, et tamen in eis inveniri potest.*"²⁹ God, who wishes, by means of a human agent, to express some truth in writing, sees that truth in its entirety, with all its implications, in one simple act. This truth is not seen by the human intellect in the same way. It must take, as it were, various partial views of it. It must form various distinct aspects of this same truth before it can exhaust it. The question may then be asked: can these various aspects which the human mind takes of one and the same truth be said to remain within the scope of that truth? Or in another way: if the human mind by a means native to itself, called reasoning, should discover various new aspects of the truth expressed by God in the words of the hagiographer, can these new aspects, or conclusions, be correctly termed the sense of the words of the sacred writer?

²⁸ Cf. Patrizi, *loc. cit.* p. 265.

²⁹ *Confess.* XII, c. 31.

To give an adequate reply, the whole exegetical process must be more accurately examined.

Let us assume that the exegete concerned with any given passage of the Scriptures has obtained the explicit sense of the text. He is in possession of a simple statement, a truth revealed by God. In the process this must always be the basis of further investigation; it is the *point de départ*, the premise of faith. The exegete's next step is to see if he can clarify the terms of his original proposition. It often happens that, without any process of reasoning, by a mere explanation of the terms a new formula is obtained. This happens in explaining some of the Messianic prophecies, for example, where the terms of the original prophecy are clarified by comparing them with the narration of the fulfillment. Here the new formula is merely nominally distinct from the primitive statement: it does not yield a new truth or even a new aspect of that truth. To take a simple example: suppose we should find in Scripture the express statement, "Christ died for all men," and then by clarifying the term "all men" we should form the new statement, "Christ died for Peter." This would, indeed, be a new formula but neither a new truth, nor a new concept of that truth, since by a simple clarification of the term "all men" we should find the individual "Peter" contained there, and that without any process of strict reasoning. The sense, then, of the new formula is not a new sense, it is simply clearer. It is this first step, we think, that yields the so-called "sensus plenior" which, in reality, is reducible to an explicit sense. Needless to say, in practice the process will not always be as simple as in the example we have chosen.

The next step in the exegetical process is more important for our purpose. Taking the explicit proposition of the text as his point of departure, the exegete finds that this proposition is composed of two simple terms joined by the copula *est*: A *est* B; let us say, "God is absolutely immutable." This proposition, we assume, is the explicit statement of the text, it is explicitly revealed. Taking this as a major premise, the exegete attempts to form a syllogism. He needs a new term of comparison. This he seeks to discover by reason. It must be some term that can be asserted of the predicate of his original proposition, "absolute immutability." He tries the concept "eternity." "Absolutely immutable" and "eternal," he knows by human reason, are in reality

identical terms. He is then in possession of his minor of reason and his syllogism is complete: God is absolutely immutable—Major premise of faith, the explicit assertion of the text. *Atqui*, what is absolutely immutable is eternal—Minor premise known by reason; from which follows the conclusion: *Ergo*, God is eternal. The exegete is now in possession of a new formula which seems absolutely different from the original revealed formula, yet it clearly bears some connection with the original formula. What in reality has been done here? In reality, the new formula or conclusion is distinct from the original statement of the text, yet it has not gone beyond the scope of the truth originally expressed. The truth in the conclusion is not *really* distinct from that originally expressed.³⁰ It is virtually distinct; it is a new aspect or concept of the same object. The truth in the conclusion "God is eternal" was already implicitly contained in the premise "God is absolutely immutable." The distinction between these two formulae is known technically as the "*distinctio rationis ratiocinatae*." It is a distinction not of thing and thing, but of two diverse concepts of one and the same thing. The reasoning process used has been simply the device to draw out and make explicit what already was really present but only implicitly. The minor of reason is the instrument used by the exegete to plumb to its depths the revealed truth. The reason why such a process is needed at all is twofold: the marvelous fecundity of the revealed truth and the incapacity of the human mind to seize its full implication in one simple act. What, then, of the sense? Is the conclusion, which is called the consequent sense, really the sense intended by God? Yes, since the conclusion is really the same truth. It is the same truth under a new aspect. It is objectively the same, subjectively different. What was originally implicit is now explicit without being really distinct.

For the sake of clarity two further considerations must be borne in mind. First, that the consequent sense merit the title of a real biblical sense, it must be the result not of any kind of reasoning, but of reasoning of one type only. It must be a conclusion drawn by inclusive reasoning. By this is meant that type of reasoning in which the new formula or conclusion remains within the objectivity of the original formula, is virtually, but not really distinct from it. The syllogism used above was a

³⁰ Cf. Marin-Sola, *op. cit.* Tome I, pp. 30-33.

valid example of this type of reasoning, since the conclusion, "God is eternal," was already contained within the objectivity of the primitive formula, "God is absolutely immutable." In the minor of that syllogism the predicate, "eternal," although expressing an aspect distinct from the subject "absolutely immutable," was nevertheless really identical with it; the predicate was contained in an analysis of the subject. There were in that minor not two distinct realities but two aspects of one and the same reality. In a word, this type of reasoning demands that the predicate in the minor of reason should express the same reality as the subject; the predicate must be included in the essence of the subject.³¹ This is of the utmost importance that the validity of the consequent sense be preserved. For in this hypothesis the object explicitly designated by God through the words of the hagiographer is the same as that expressed in a conclusion drawn by strict reasoning. If it is the same, it follows that it, too, is God's truth, is the sense intended by God. A second consideration is this: does it follow that the conclusion is revealed just as the explicit premise of faith; can we give to it the *assensus fidei*? Not before the definition of the Church, since, being acquired by a process of human reason which is not infallible but open to error, it follows that we cannot give to such a conclusion the assent of faith until that conclusion is presented for our belief by the Church.³²

This summary of the problem has necessarily been sketchy. It is hoped, however, that it is sufficient to open the question and show the broad lines of a possible solution.

COROLLARIES AND OBJECTIONS

Several corollaries intimately connected with the doctrine just developed can now be stated in a general way:

1. The question of the consequent sense is closely bound up with the theological problems of the development of dogma and the nature of a theological conclusion. We have of necessity refrained from opening up these questions, although it is readily admitted that they are intimately related to the present problem.

2. The validity of the consequent sense is not an idle problem for the exegete since it affects in great measure the extent

³¹ For a more complete explanation of this type of reasoning cf. Marin-Sola, *op. cit.* Tome I, p. 33-171.

³² Cf. Marin-Sola, *op. cit.* Tome I, pp. 105; 134; 176; 191.

of his work. If the validity of the consequent sense as a strict biblical sense can be established, the exploration of this sense would then fall immediately within the scope of exegesis.

3. The exegete who would admit as part of his work the consideration of the consequent sense, would more easily defend his right to the title of theologian. He would, too, more readily refute the objection that the work of the biblical scholar is sterile, since in the process of exploring the consequent sense he would both proceed as a strict theologian and show as the result of his work something new, vital and dynamic.

4. An admission of the consequent sense would satisfactorily account for many of the interpretations of the Fathers which would otherwise remain inexplicable. It would also, we think, shed much interesting light on the old controversy regarding the multiple literal sense.³³

Notwithstanding the many arguments that can be advanced in favour of the consequent sense it must be admitted that a number of strong objections can be urged against the theory. One or other of these will now be examined with brief suggestions for their solution.

1. Nothing can be truly the sense of the text which is not the word of God. The consequent sense is not the word of God but *our* deduction from His word. It is *our* deduction and not God's affirmation.—Response: It is true that nothing can be strictly the sense of the text which is not God's word, but it is false to limit the word of God simply to the principles and not extend it to the conclusions.³⁴ The conclusions, or consequent sense, if really inclusive, as demanded, are the word of God because implicitly contained in what God has said.³⁵

2. The consequent sense properly speaking does not express a truth objectively new but it does, according to the explanation, give expression to a new concept. But, *new concept* is simply another way of saying *new sense*. Hence the consequent sense

³³ Cf. Prado *op. cit.* p. 203; St. Thomas, *Quodlib.* VII, q. 6, art. 14.

³⁴ Many of the recent manuals on hermeneutics in their treatment of the consequent sense present this *petitio principii* when they assert that it is not a biblical sense because not formally expressed in the words of the text. It is not formally but *virtually* expressed. The question to decide is whether what is virtually expressed is a biblical sense.

³⁵ Cf. St. Thomas, *III Sent.*, dist. 25, q. 2, a. 1, sol. 3; also Marin-Sola, *op. cit.* Tome II, p. 12.

does not express God's sense, is not a strictly biblical sense. Response: There are three kinds of new concepts: 1) New concepts which are completely new in that they do not flow from the original concept and in fact are incompatible with it, v.g., the concepts of spirituality and materiality. They are called contrary or opposed. 2) New concepts which are completely new, because they do not flow from the original concept, but are not incompatible with it, v.g., the concepts of quantity and quality. They are called simply, different concepts. 3) New concepts which are not completely new, since they flow from the concept originally expressed. They are called derived concepts, v.g., the concepts of absolute immutability and eternity. The new concepts obtained in the consequent sense by inclusive reasoning belong to the third class, or derived concepts. They are new *quoad explicationem*, not new by addition or *quoad substantiam*. Hence the distinction: they are new, that is completely new, *nego*; new, but not completely new, *concedo*. Or again, new, that is, contrary or different, *nego*; new, without being contrary or different, but derived completely from the original concept, *concedo*.³⁶

CONCLUSION

Considering, even in such a general way as we have been forced to do, the question of the consequent sense, we feel that we can assert that the various statements of the sacred writers, numerous interpretations of the Fathers and Councils, as well as the arguments from reason, should lead to the conviction that this question is worthy of serious consideration. We reaffirm our intention of not having wished to present a thesis but rather to invite discussion of a problem that should not be too easily dismissed. For we feel that a too facile dismissal of the problem of the consequent sense by the exegete solicitous solely for the explicit sense of the Scriptures, results in Catholic exegesis being deprived of its full richness and more abundant fruits of interpretation.

C. F. DEVINE, C.Ss.R.

³⁶ Cf. Marin-Sola, *op. cit.* Tome II, p. 15.

SOME ENGLISH IDIOMS IN THE ENGLISH BIBLE

Continued

THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

Introducing his study of the Relative Pronoun, the Subjunctive, and the use of Shall and Will, Professor Genung makes the following pertinent remarks:

Of the great store of idioms that give life and flavor to the English language, three are here selected for special treatment; and this for two reasons: first, because, accurately observed, they impart a delicacy of coloring and implication which the language can ill afford to spare; and secondly, because the wholesale disregard of all three, already widely prevalent in popular writing, has been advocated by facile writers too careless or too lazy to master their subtleties. Like all resources of the literary art, however, these idioms are to be reckoned with. If they are puzzling, so much the greater call for thorough study of them; and not to know them, or to despise their superfineness of shading, discredits not them but the too willing neglecter.¹²

Let us consider first the relative. As we know, a relative pronoun is one that represents an antecedent word or phrase, and connects different clauses of a sentence. The relative pronouns are *who*, *which*, *what*, and *that*. We are not here concerned with the relative *what*, which, as being a kind of double relative, equivalent to *that which* or *those which*, is to be considered as including both the antecedent and the relative. The relative *who* is applied to persons only; *which* formerly also applied to persons, as we observe in the King James Bible, but is now confined to animals and inanimate things; *that* is applied to persons, animals, or things.¹³

The relatives *who*, *which*, and *that* not only represent an antecedent in a further assertion, but also by this new assertion either add to the information given in the antecedent clause, or by some kind of restriction complete and define it. Strictly used, i.e., when not employed as substitutes for the relative *that*, as happens in certain cases, the relatives *who* and *which* assume that the antecedent is fully defined in sense, and they are concerned only with giving additional information. They are therefore called *additive* or *non-defining* relatives. Such relative clauses should always be separated from their antecedent by a

¹² Genung, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

¹³ Brown, "English Grammar," pp. 68 ff.

comma; e.g., "At our first meeting, which was held in Washington, we drew up general rules"; "Father N., who was present, acted as secretary."

The relative *that*, however, when correctly employed, always assumes that its antecedent is not yet fully defined, and so its purpose is to complete and restrict the meaning of its antecedent. It is accordingly called the *restrictive* or *defining* relative, and should not of itself be set off by a comma, i.e., unless some other word or phrase immediately preceding it requires a comma; e.g., "The Greeks were the greatest reasoners *that* ever lived"; "avoid all amusements *that* savor of vice"; "the only circumstance, in fact, *that* could justify such a course was, etc."

It is to be especially noted that an *additive* or *non-defining* clause is independent of its antecedent and can be separated from it without destroying the meaning of the antecedent; whereas the contrary is true with regard to a *restrictive* or *defining* clause.

This fact, that the removal of a defining clause destroys the meaning of the antecedent, supplies an infallible test for distinguishing between the defining and the non-defining clause; the latter can always, the former never, be detached without disturbing the truth of the main predication. A non-defining clause gives independent comment, description, explanation, anything but limitation of the antecedent; it can always be rewritten either as a parenthesis or as a separate sentence, and this is true, however essential the clause may be to the point of the main statement. . . .

To find, then, whether a clause defines or does not define, remove it, and see whether the statement of which it formed a part is unaltered: if not, the clause defines. It is true that we sometimes get ambiguous cases: after removing the relative clause, we cannot always say whether the sense has been altered or not. That means, however, not that our test has failed, but that the clause is actually capable of performing either function, and that the main sentence can bear two distinct meanings, between which even context may not enable us to decide. . . .

The reader should bear in mind that the distinction between the two kinds of relative is based entirely on the closeness of their relation to the antecedent. The information given by a defining clause must be taken at once, with the antecedent, or both are useless; that given by a non-defining clause will keep indefinitely, the clause being complete in sense without the antecedent, and the antecedent without the clause. This is the only safe test. To ask, for instance, whether the clause conveys comment, explanation, or the like, is not a sufficient test unless the question is rightly understood; for, although we have said that a non-defining clause conveys comment and the like, as opposed

to definition of the antecedent, it does not follow that a defining clause may not (while defining its own antecedent) contribute towards comment; on the contrary, it is often open to a writer to throw his comment into such a form as will include a defining clause.¹⁴

Now while all this is true, it must be admitted that in practice there is much confusion between the relatives *who* and *which*, on the one hand, and the relative *that*, on the other. We give, therefore, a few practical rules, which, however, are but a modification of the generally admitted principle, according to which *that* is the restricting and defining relative, *who* and *which*, the non-restricting and non-defining relatives.

Hence, (a) *that* should never be used to introduce a non-defining clause; (b) *that* has no possessive case, and so should not be used as a relative when a preposition would be required, e.g., "It was a dignity *that* he could not aspire to," would better be, "It was a dignity to which he could not aspire"; (c) *that* should give way to *who* and *which* when there is considerable separation between the relative and its verb or antecedent; (d) *who* or *which* should be used in defining clauses when euphony or clearness is against the use of *that*. Thus euphony requires *that which*, instead of *that that*; and *who* or *which*, when a near antecedent is *this*, *these*, *those*, *they*. And clearness requires *who* when the gender of the antecedent would otherwise not be clear.

But bearing in mind the foregoing observations and rules, the relative *that* is to be preferred to *who* or *which* in the following cases: (a) after a superlative, e.g., "He was the *first that* we saw"; (b) after the adjective *same*, e.g., "He is the *same person that* we saw"; (c) after *who* as an antecedent, e.g., "*Who that* knew him failed to love him?" (d) after two or more antecedents denoting both persons and things, e.g., "He spoke of the *men and the sights that* he had seen"; (e) after an antecedent otherwise unmodified, e.g., "*Thoughts that* breathe," "*words that* burn," "*music that* charms"; (f) after an antecedent introduced by *it*, e.g., "*It was* fame *that* he sought"; (g) after *all* and *only*, e.g., "Avoid *all pleasures that* lead to evil," "he was the *only man that* could do the work"; (h) after a negative, e.g., "There has *never* been a person *that* had wings."

¹⁴ Fowler and Fowler, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 79.

The relative *that* in restrictive clauses is likewise required after such other negatives as *scarce*, *scarcely*, *mere*, *merely*, *hardly*, *few*, *rare*, *seldom*, and the like.

Much more could be said on the idiomatic use of the relative, but we hope we have given enough for our present purpose. For further and more exhaustive information we refer the reader to *The King's English* pp. 80-100.

THE RELATIVE PRONOUN IN THE ENGLISH BIBLE

As said above, the relative *which* is now no longer used for persons, as was done in the Authorized Version, but is restricted to animals and inanimate things.

What is often used for *that which*, and, in a different sense, as an adjective. We are not here concerned with *what* in either of these senses. *Who* refers only to persons.

Illustrations of most of these pronouns are to be found on every page of the Bible and cause no difficulty.

But we cannot so easily dispose of the defining and restricting relative *that*. A few examples of its correct use in the Bible will therefore not be out of place here. As with all these idioms, we may open the Sacred Scriptures at random and find them frequently employed.

Thus the relative *that* occurs in Lev. 18:5: "He *that* doth those things"; Deut. 21:23: "Cursed is everyone *that* hangeth, etc."; Deut. 27:26: "Cursed is everyone *that* abideth not, etc."; Mt. 5:5: "Blessed are they *that* mourn"; 6: "Blessed are they *that* hunger"; 10: "Blessed are they *that* suffer"; 11: "And speak all *that* is evil"; 12: "The prophets *that* were before you"; 19: "He *that* shall do"; Mt. 6:23: "The light *that* is in thee"; Mt. 7:3: "The mote *that* is in thy brother's eye... the beam *that* is in thy own eye"; 8: "Everyone *that* asketh... he *that* seeketh... to him *that* knocketh"; 13: "Broad is the way *that* leadeth"; 14: "Straight is the way *that* leadeth"; 19: "Every tree *that* bringeth not, etc." 21: "Every one *that* saith, etc... he *that* doth, etc."; Jn. 6:47: "He *that* believeth"; 52: "The bread *that* I will give"; 55: "He *that* eateth"; 59: "This is the bread *that* came down"; 64: "It is the spirit *that* quickeneth"; Rom. 9:6: "All are not Israelites *that* are of Israel"; 7: "Neither are all they *that* are the seed, etc."; 8: "Not they *that* are, etc."; 20: "Say to him *that* formed it"; 1 Cor. 7:10: "I say to them *that* are, etc."; 12: "A wife *that* believeth not"; 13: "A husband *that*

believeth not"; 22: "He *that* is called, etc."; 33: "He *that* is with a wife"; 37: "He *that* hath determined, etc."; 38: "He *that* giveth her not, etc."; 16:1: "The collections *that* are made"; 2 Cor. 1:1: "With all the saints *that* are"; Eph. 1:1: "To all the saints *that* are, etc."; Col. 1. 5: "The hope *that* is laid up for you," etc.

THE SUBJUNCTIVE

The Subjunctive mood is so named because it is found only in *subjoined* or dependent clauses. But from this fact it does not follow that every verb in a subordinate clause is or must be in the subjunctive mood.

The subjunctive mood may be defined as a form or use of a verb that makes a subordinate clause express something as doubtful, uncertain, conditional, contrary to fact, merely supposed, etc.

The use of the subjunctive has declined much in modern times. At least, it is used far less now than it was a century ago. But the reasons given for this disuse are not so good. Those authors who neglect or oppose the use of the subjunctive do so on the grounds that it is difficult, uncertain, and often misused. If such reasoning, however, were valid, we should likewise have to disregard many other idioms and idiomatic forms and uses of our language, such as *prepositions*, *conjunctions*, *shall* and *will*, and the like, because they are all hard and are often misused. Furthermore, the subjunctive, rightly employed, enables a writer to express his thought more accurately, to make use of many nice distinctions, and so give variety and richness to his speech.

In order, therefore, to simplify the use of a rather difficult and uncertain idiom, we may say that the subjunctive is to be preferred to the indicative mood in a subordinate clause or otherwise in the following cases: (a) to express doubt, e.g., "I would hire him, if I *were* sure of his honesty (meaning, I am not sure)"; (b) to express a wish or desire contrary to fact, e.g., "I wish he *were* here" (he is not here), "thy deeds *be* upon thee" (they are not); (c) to express mere supposition, e.g., "If wishes *were* dollars (they are not), we should all be rich"; (d) to express an intention not yet carried out, e.g., "the judge directed that the accused *be* fined and imprisoned"; (e) to express denial, e.g., "If the car *be* ready (it is not), I will go"; (f) to express future contingency, e.g., "If it *rain* tomorrow, I shall not go";

(g) to express future result or consequence, e.g., "He shall be imprisoned, until he *die*"; (h) to express a command, necessity, and the like, e.g., "The general commanded that the army *be* ready," "it is necessary that the meeting *begin* on time."

The future subjunctive is expressed by *should* in all persons; e.g., "If I *should*," "if thou *should*," "if he *should*." The form *shouldst* is obsolete English, as, "If thou, O Lord, *shouldst* mark iniquities, etc."

Good usage, however, allows a future subjunctive meaning to be expressed by a present tense; e.g., "If any man *hear* not my words, he shall be, etc."

The past subjunctive may be expressed by inverting the order of the words, and this is regarded as an elegant and forceful manner of expression; e.g., "*Had* I the power," "*were* I as I used to be," etc.

It is to be noted that when referring to what is future and contingent, or to what is past and uncertain, or to what is denied, the principal clause in a conditional statement also takes the subjunctive form. The usual forms of the subjunctive in a principal clause are *would*, *should*, *would have*, *should have*. Thus we get, "If he should pay the price in labor, he *would* succeed"; "if I had seen you, I *should* have spoken to you"; "if 'twere done when 'tis done, then 'twere (=would be) well it *were* (=should be) done quickly."

From this last example we see that *were* is used in the principal clause for *should be* or *would be*, as, "I *were* (=should be) a fool, if I thought otherwise." Also *had* is sometimes used in the principal clause for *should have* or *would have*, as, "Had I known this sooner, I *had* (=would have) remained away."

The foregoing are some of the principal applications of the subjunctive that are still in fairly common use among good writers and that are frequently found in the English Bible.¹⁵

THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD IN THE ENGLISH BIBLE

Our older English translations of the Bible abound in the use of the subjunctive in the various ways explained above. For example, (a) to express wish: Rom. 12:1: "That you *present* your bodies a living sacrifice"; 2: "And *be* not conformed . . .

¹⁵ Baines, "Higher English Grammar," quoted in "Verbalist," pp. 181-190; Genung, *op. cit.*, pp. 232, 233; "International Library of Technology," grammar, section 18. pp. 17-19; Woods and Stratton, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 98.

but *be* reformed"; Rom. 14:32: "Peace *be* with you"; Rom. 16:2: "That you *receive* her in the Lord . . . that you *assist* her"; Phil. 1:9: "I pray that your charity *may* abound"; 10: "That you *may* approve"; 12: "What you *should* know"; Phil. 4:17: "That you *may* abound"; 2 Thess. 2:2: "*That* you *be* not easily moved," etc.

(b) To express uncertainty, condition: Rom. 12:18: "If it *be* possible"; 20: "If thy enemy *be* hungry . . . if he *be* thirsty"; Rom. 14:23: "If he *eat*"; 1 Cor. 14:19: "I had rather *speak*"; 2 Thess. 2:3: "For unless there *come* . . . and the man of sin *be* revealed"; 8: "Until he *be* taken away"; 1 Tim. 1:8: "If a man *use* it"; 1 Tim. 2:15: "If she *continue*"; 1 Tim. 3:1: "If a man *desire*"; 15: "If I *tarry*," etc.

(c) To express purpose: Rom. 14:9: "That he *might be* lord"; Rom. 15:4: "That we *might* have hope"; 13: "That you *may* abound"; 16: "That I *should be* the minister . . . that the oblation . . . *may be* made acceptable"; 20: "Lest I *should* build"; 30: "That you *help* me in your prayers"; 31: "That I *may be* delivered . . . that my sacrifice *may be* acceptable"; 32: "That I *may* come"; 1 Cor. 14:31: "That all *may* learn, and all *may be* exhorted"; 2 Thess. 3:6: "That you *withdraw*," etc.

(d) To express supposition, doubt, opposition to fact, and the like: Mt. 4:6: "If thou *be* the Son of God, cast thyself, etc."; Mt. 19:11: "Unless it *were* given thee"; Mt. 27:40: "If thou *be* the Son of God, come down from the cross, etc."; Lk. 6:40: "If he *be* as his master"; Rom. 8:31: "If God *be* for us"; 1 Cor. 13:1: "If I *speak* . . . and *have* not"; 2: "If I *should have* . . . and *should* know"; 3: "If I *should* distribute . . . if I *should* deliver"; 1 Cor. 14:8: "If the trumpet *give*"; 27: "If anyone *speak*"; 28: "If there *be* no interpreter"; 30: "If anything *be* revealed"; 1 Cor. 15:12: "If Christ *be* preached"; 13: "If there *be* no resurrection"; 14: "If Christ *be* not risen"; 16: "If the dead *rise* not again"; Gal. 1:8: "Though we, or an angel . . . *preach*"; 9: "If anyone *preach*"; Gal. 2:21: "If justice *be* by the law"; Gal. 3:4: "If it *be* yet in vain"; 15: "If it *be* confirmed"; Heb. 8:4: "If then he *were* on earth . . . seeing that there *would be* others," etc.

SHALL AND WILL

The correct use of *shall* and *will* and of their past forms, *should* and *would*, in both direct and indirect affirmative dis-

course, in asking questions, and in expressing habitual actions, constitutes what is perhaps the most characteristic, and doubtless the most difficult, of all our English idioms. The authors of *The King's English* introduce their treatment of the subject as follows: "It is unfortunate that the idiomatic use, while it comes by nature to Southern Englishmen, is so complicated that those who are not to the manner born can hardly acquire it."¹⁶ And Professor Earle, writing about the misuse of this idiom, also says:

The idiom which is called Kelticism consists in the unenglish use of the auxiliary, *will, would*, where every man born on English soil would employ, *shall, should*. Dean Alford said that he never knew but one man born on Keltic soil who was to be depended upon in this item, and even that one failed ultimately to sustain his exceptional reputation by a slip he was detected in for the first time after an intimacy of twenty years. This Kelticism occurs repeatedly in Burke's correspondence, especially in the earlier years.¹⁷

It is doubtless this Kelticism, translated to America by Keltic immigrants, that helps to account for the widespread misuse, and the apparently almost total ignorance of the correct use, of these auxiliaries everywhere in this country. So general in the United States is the unawareness of the nature and importance of this greatest of English idioms that we constantly meet the most flagrant violations of it everywhere, even among our otherwise most educated classes. Thus we see it often grossly misused in the speeches and public utterances of Presidents, Governors, Senators, Congressmen, Justices of the Supreme Court, presidents of colleges and universities, preachers, teachers, editorial writers, authors of books, etc., to say nothing of what happens among the less educated. There seems to be only one explanation of this state of affairs, and it is that the correct use of these important forms is not taught and has not been taught in our schools; and the reason for this neglect is that the teachers themselves do not know that correct use. They in their time were never taught it, and it seems never to have occurred to them to make a study of it and to master it for themselves. On the contrary, so much and so long has this subject been unknown and disregarded almost everywhere in America that we now hear it commonly said by many supposedly educated men and women that it makes little or no difference how we use these

¹⁶ Fowler and Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

¹⁷ Earle, *op. cit.*, pp. 271, 272.

auxiliaries, and that soon they will be interchangeable. "As long ago as 1789, Noah Webster made a statement to the effect that because so many persons in this country confused *shall* and *will*, there was great danger that the distinction between the two words would soon be lost."¹⁸

This is truly an unfortunate condition and attitude of mind on the part of those who so regard the matter. For it does matter and it does make a difference how we use these forms. It matters to the extent of making the difference between knowledge and ignorance of a vital idiom of our language; it matters to the extent of expressing ourselves correctly or incorrectly many times, of often appearing to be educated or uneducated in the eyes and judgment of those who know, of saying what is really in our minds and what we want to say, or of failing to do so on numerous occasions. These auxiliaries have become an essential part of the English language, and they are different, not by accident or caprice, but in order that by their differences we may be able to express different thoughts, different ideas, neatly cut distinctions in our thoughts, real but delicate shades of meaning, and so on, and thus add to the accuracy, variety, and richness of our language.

On this point Professor Genung writes as follows:

The forms *shall* and *will*, with their preterites *should* and *would*, which are used as auxiliaries of the future tense, retain in addition to their future meaning a coloring derived from the original meaning of the words. This coloring is always present, though in some cases it so blends with the future tense as to be practically one with it. For fine rhetorical tact, however, recognition of the original implication, with its exact shading of effect, is important to the writer's outfit.¹⁹

We shall be aided, then, in our study of these forms by recalling their root meaning. *Will* is from the Anglo-Saxon, *willan*, and so it radically means will, intention, purpose, determination, and the like; *shall* is from the Anglo-Saxon *sceal*, implying command, obligation.

But before applying these root meanings generally, we need to remember also that in Old English present and future tenses were one, there being no separate future tense. *Shall* and *will* were therefore the presents of two verbs, to which belong the pasts *should* and *would*, the present conditionals *should* and *would*, and the past conditionals *should have* and *would have*.

¹⁸ Hunter, *op. cit.*, Lesson Five, p. 7.

¹⁹ Genung, *op. cit.*, pp. 233, 234.

But since *shall* had the meaning of command and *will* of wish, and since commands and wishes have to do mainly with the future, a future tense auxiliary in course of time naturally developed out of these two verbs, *shall* and *will*. Out of this development grew three systems in the use of *shall* and *will* in principal sentences: (a) the Pure System, in which *shall* and *will* retain their original meaning of command and wish, and from which we get in the first persons, the interrogative *shall*, asking for orders or commands, e.g., *Shall I? shall we?* and in the second and third persons, the declarative *shall*, issuing orders or commands, e.g., *You, he, they shall*;

(b) The Plain-Future System, in which *shall* and *will* become a simple future tense, and from which we get the futures *shall*, *should*, in the first persons, and *will*, *would* in the second and third persons, e.g., *I shall (should)*, *we shall (should)*, *you, he, they will (would)*;

(c) The Colored-Future System, which is made up partly of the Pure System and partly of the Plain-Future System, in which consequently we have expressed the ideas of command and wish together with the future tense, and from which we get in the first persons the interrogative *shall* asking for orders or commands, e.g., *Shall (should) I? Shall (should) we?* and the positive *will* expressing the speaker's wish, desire, intention, promise, consent, assurance, threat, etc., in the first, second and third person, e.g., *I will (would)*, *we will (would)*, *he, you, they shall (should)*.²⁰

The difficulty of learning and using these auxiliaries correctly is readily granted; but that is only another proof of their importance and of the need of mastering them by everyone who would write English correctly, who wishes to express himself exactly, and who has self-respect enough not to be indifferent whether he appears cultured and refined, or lacking in culture and refinement with regard to highly important points of his language in the eyes of all who really know.

We must therefore try to understand this idiom and know how to use it at all times; and to this end we will endeavor to make our present treatment of the subject as simple and as practical as possible. Let us consider the matter under its principal aspects, i.e., (a) in direct discourse; (b) in indirect discourse; (c) in asking questions; (d) in expressing habitual actions.

²⁰ Fowler & Fowler, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-143.

1. *In Direct Discourse*

The use of *shall* or *will* in direct declarative statements is determined simply by what one wishes or desires to say. Therefore if the speaker wishes to indicate mere futurity, mere matter of fact, something not dependent on his own volition or control, he should use *shall* in the first person, singular and plural, and *will* in the second and third persons, singular and plural; e.g., "I (or we) *shall*, or *shall* not, go tomorrow"; "I (or we) *shall* be glad (or pleased or delighted) to see you"; "I (or we) *shall* be of age soon"; "You (or he or they) *will* be late unless you hurry (or unless he hurries, or unless they hurry)"; "he (or they) *will* not be here when you return."

But if the speaker wishes to express his own volition and control—his wish, desire, promise, consent, determination, threat, assurance, certainty, or the like, he should use *will* in the first person, singular and plural, and *shall* in the second and third persons, singular and plural; e.g., "I (or we) *will* do it" (expressing wish, desire, promise); "I (or we) *will* meet you tomorrow" (consent); "you (or he or they) *shall* not be paid" (determination); "you (or he or they) *shall* be punished" (threat); "all sin and iniquity *shall* be forgiven" (assurance); "the world *shall* be destroyed by fire" (prophecy, certainty).

In obedience to these rules, compulsory duties and obligations, as in the Commandments and in the first seven sections of Article 1 of the United States Constitution are expressed by the stronger form, *shall* and *shall* not, thus indicating the speaker's authority and control over his commands, e.g., "Thou *shalt* not lie," "Thou *shalt* not kill"; "The Congress *shall* enumerate the people, etc.," "the citizens of each State *shall* be entitled, etc."

Sometimes, however, out of courtesy, in order to avoid an unpleasant connotation of determination implied in *shall*, *will* may be and is substituted for *shall*; e.g., a superior issues his commands to his subjects by saying, "You *will* report for duty at such a time," "the servants *will* prepare the meal," "the sailors *will* man the ships," etc.

Should and *would* are merely the preterites of *shall* and *will*, and so they are governed by exactly the same rules in expressing distinctions between mere futurity or matter of fact, on the one hand, and volition or control, on the other; e.g., "I (or we) *should* go on vacation tomorrow, if I (or we) had the means"; "I (or we) *should* have started sooner, if the weather had per-

mitted"; "I (or we) *should* be glad to meet him"; "I (or we) *should* be pleased to have you visit me (or us)"; "I (or we) *would* not go"; "I (or we) *would* change the rules, if I (or we) could," etc.

In view of these rules, such sentences as the following, which we read and hear every day, are tautological absurdities: "I (or we) *will* be glad, or *will* be pleased, etc."; "I (or we) *will* like it"; "I (or we) *would* be glad, or *would* be pleased, or *would* be delighted, etc."; "I (or we) *would* like to go."

These sentences are all wrong because they twice express the same thought, namely, volition, first in *will* or *would*, and again in *glad*, or *pleased*, or *delighted*, and the like. Evidently the speaker here merely wishes to express the fact that he will be glad or pleased or delighted about something, or will like something, but he words his thought so as to express volition, control, determination, and that not once but twice in the same sentence. If he wished to express his volition, and not mere futurity or matter of fact, he should have used simply *will* or *would* without the added words *glad*, or *pleased*, or *delighted*, or the like; e.g., "I (or we) *will* see you," "I (or we) *would* meet him," "I (or we) *will* have it," "I (or we) *will* go."

This use of *will* or *would* alone in the first person to express volition is somewhat archaic now, and so the more usual correct form is, "I (or we) *shall* be glad, or *shall* be pleased"; "I (or we) *should* be glad, or *should* be pleased"; "I (or we) *shall* (or *should*) like," etc.

Of course everyone acquainted with the English language knows that the word *should* also has another meaning, namely, to express duty, in the sense of *ought to*; and when so used, it is the same in all persons, e.g., "I, you, he, we, etc., *should* do this or that."

Likewise in subordinate clauses introduced by *if* (or *unless* or *until*), in expressing a real condition or possibility, *shall* (*should*) is regularly used with all persons in the protasis or *if*-clause; e.g., "If I *shall* (*should*) meet him, I shall (*should*) probably not know him," "if you *shall* (*should*) be late, do not come," "if he *shall* (*should*) fail once more, he will (*would*) not try again," etc. In such conditional sentences, *shall* (*should*) is rightly used in the *if*-clause with all persons, but the other or apodosis clause may have *shall* or *will* (*should* or *would*), as the case may be, according to the rules already given.

Will (*would*) may be used in a real conditional *if*-clause only when the idea of volition or willingness is to be expressed, and then it may be used with all persons; e.g., "If you (or he or they) *will* (*would*) allow me to go to college, I know you (or he or they) *will* (*would*) not regret it."

Indefinite clauses, introduced by such words as, *whoever*, *whatever*, *whenever*, *when*, and the like, follow the same rules as *if*-clauses, because they are equivalent to *if*-clauses; e.g., "Whoever does this," "whatever you do," "whenever we do this," and "when we have done this," are respectively the same as, "*If* anyone does this," "*if* ever you do anything," "*if* ever we do this," "*if* we have done this," and so on. Thus *shall* is used in these indefinite clauses as follows: "Whoever *shall* do this, etc.," "whatever you *shall* do, etc.," "whenever we *shall* do this, etc.," "when we *shall* have done this, etc." As always, the rules that require *shall* or *will* in the present, require *should* or *would* in the past tense.

2. In Indirect Discourse

We may experience a little more difficulty in using these auxiliaries in indirect discourse, but not much if we keep in mind the difference between direct and indirect discourse. Direct discourse means repeating a person's statement or statements in his own words; while indirect discourse is repeating his statement or statements in our words. The rule, therefore, governing the use of *should* and *would* in indirect discourse, or when repeating in our words what another has said, is this: If the speaker used *shall*, report him with *should*; if he used *will*, report him with *would*; e.g., if the speaker said: "I *shall* do it," report him thus: "He said that he *should* do it"; if he said: "I *will* do it," report him: "He said that he *would* do it"; if he said: "I *will* go," report him: "He said that he *would* go"; if he said: "I *shall* go tomorrow," report him: "He said that he *should* go tomorrow"; if he said: "I *shall* be there," report him: "He said that he *should* be there"; if he asked: "Shall I do it?" report him: "He asked whether he *should* do it"; if the question was: "Will you do it?" report it: "I asked him whether he *would* (consent) do it," and so on for the rest.

3. In Asking Questions

The rules for questions are fairly easy. They are as follows: (a) in the first person, singular and plural, always use *shall*, be-

cause in such questions one is consulting the will or judgment of another, not one's own will or judgment; e.g., "*Shall* I (or we) go?" "When *shall* I (or we) see you again?" "When *shall* I (or we) get there?" etc.

(b) In the second and third persons, singular and plural, use the word that is expected in the answer, because here also there is question of the will, or judgment, or intention, or future action of another; e.g., "*Shall* you go to the Fair soon?" Answer expected: "No, I *shall* not" (simple futurity). "*Shall* you be at home tomorrow?" Answer expected: "I *shall*, or *shall* not" (simple futurity). "*Will* you go with me tomorrow?" Answer expected: "I *will* if you wish me to" (promise). "*Will* you help me with my lesson?" Answer expected: "I *will*" (promise). "*Will* he be here tomorrow?" Answer expected: "I think he *will*" (simple futurity). "*Shall* the thief be punished?" Answer expected: "Justice demands that he *shall* be punished" (determination). "*Will* the visitors be willing to receive us?" Answer expected: "I feel sure that they *will*" (simple futurity).

4. In Expressing Habitual Actions

The rule is extremely easy here. To express habitual ways of doing anything, *will*, *would* is used in all persons, singular and plural; e.g., "I (or we) *will* (*would*) take a bath every morning upon rising" (meaning, it will be or was my or our custom to take a bath every morning); "We *will* (*would*) go out for a ride in the evening" (such will be or was our custom); "He *will* (*would*) write every day until noon" (such is or was his custom); "The laborers *will* (*would*) work until sundown" (it is or was their custom); etc.²¹

SHALL AND WILL IN THE ENGLISH BIBLE

We can see from the foregoing pages that there are very definite rules governing the idiomatic use of *shall* and *will* in all their forms. We are not, then, at liberty to do as we please in using these auxiliaries.

But when we turn to the various English translations of the Old or the New Testament, or of the Bible as a whole, and compare them in this matter, we are at once surprised at the differ-

²¹ Woods and Stratton, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-104; Fowler and Fowler, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-156; Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-8; Genung, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-236; Ayres, "The Verbalist," pp. 273, 276; Hotchkiss and Drew, "Business English," pp. 60-62.

ences and inconsistencies which we encounter. Thus in passages too numerous to cite here we find disagreement, sometimes even between the King James and the Douay-Rheims versions, which were written about the same period, but especially among later versions. Obviously all these different translations cannot be right when they vary in a question of this kind. For the most part we have very specific rules to follow, and so, if we would be correct, we must bring our translation into harmony with them, disregarding all others that may disagree. Let us take some specimen passages, chosen at random, and see how the rules we have laid down are verified in them.

We are not particular about following the order of the rules given above, but opening the Bible any place, and proceeding from there we shall see how the rules are illustrated.

1. Thus *shall* and *will* of mere futurity are found in Ps. 26:1: "Whom *shall* I fear? . . . of whom *shall* I be afraid?" Ps. 41:3: "When *shall* I come, etc.?" Ps. 49:13: "*Shall* I eat? . . . *shall* I drink, etc.?" Wisdom 8:14: "I *shall* set the people in order"; Mk. 5:28: "If I *shall* touch, . . . I *shall* be healed"; Mk. 8:3: "If I *shall* send"; Jn. 6:27: "The Son of Man *will* give you," etc.

2. The *shall* and *will* of volition are found in Eccles. 2:1: "I *will* go"; Cant. 3:2: "I *will* rise, and I *will* go . . . I *will* seek"; Cant. 4:6: "I *will* go to the mountain, etc."; Lk. 12:18: "I *will* pull down my barns . . . I *will* build greater, and into them *will* I gather"; 19: "I *will* say to my soul"; Jn. 6:27: "I *will* not cast out"; 44,45,55: "I *will* raise him up"; 65: "Who he was that *should* betray him"; Jn. 14:16: "I *will* ask the Father"; 18: "I *will* not leave you orphans, I *will* come to you"; 21: "I *will* love him, and *will* manifest myself to him"; 23: "We *will* come to him, and *will* make our abode with him"; 30: "I *will* not now speak many things"; Jn. 15:15: "I *will* not now call you servants," etc.

3. The *shall*, *will* of assurance, prophecy, certainty, is found in: Isa. 4:2: "The Lord *shall* be in magnificence and glory"; 3: "It *shall* come to pass, etc. . . . *shall* be called holy"; 6: "There *shall* be a tabernacle, etc."; Isa. 17:4: "The glory of Jacob *shall* grow lean"; Isa. 60:2: "Darkness *shall* cover the earth . . . the Lord *shall* arise . . . his glory *shall* be seen"; 3: "The Gentiles *shall* walk, etc."; 4: "Thy sons *shall* come . . . thy daughters *shall* rise up, etc."; 5: "Then *shalt* thou see . . . and thy heart *shall* wonder, etc."; 6: "The multitude of camels *shall* cover thee . . .

all they from Saba *shall* come, etc.”; Mt. 5:4-9: “They *shall* possess,” “they *shall* be comforted,” “they *shall* be filled, etc.”; 18: “*Shall* not pass”; 19: “*Shall* be called”; 20: “You *shall* not enter”; 21,22: “*Shall* be in danger”; 26: “Thou *shalt* not go”; Mt. 6:1: “You *shall* not have”; Mt. 7:2: “You *shall* be judged”; 7: “It *shall* be given you”; 16: “You *shall* know them”; 19: “*Shall* be cut down . . . *shall* be cast”; 23: “Then *will* I profess”; Mk. 3:28: “All sins *shall* be forgiven”; 29: “*Shall* never be forgiven”; Mk. 4:22: “*Shall* not be made manifest”; 24: “It *shall* be measured”; 25: “*Shall* be taken away”; Lk. 1:13: “*Shall* bear thee a son . . . *shall* call his name”; 14: “Thou *shalt* have joy”; 15: “He *shall* be great . . . *shall* drink no wine . . . *shall* be filled”; 16: “He *shall* convert”; 17: “He *shall* go before”; Lk. 2:1: “That the whole world *should* be enrolled”; 6: “That she *should* be delivered”; 21: “That the child *should* be circumcised”; 26: “That he *should* not see death”; Jn. 6:39: “That . . . I *should* lose nothing; but *should* raise it up”; Jn. 8:39: “The Spirit whom they *should* receive,” etc.

4. The *shall* of indefinite or conditional *if*-clauses, is found in Mt. 5:11: “When they *shall* revile you”; 13: “Wherewith *shall* it be salted”; 19: “He therefore that *shall* break, . . . *shall* so teach”; 21: “Whosoever *shall* kill”; 22: “Whosoever *shall* say”; 28: “Whosoever *shall* look”; 31:32: “Whosoever *shall* put . . . he that *shall* marry”; Mt. 6:6: “When you *shall* pray”; Mt. 7:9: “If his son *shall* ask”; 10: “If he *shall* ask”; 24: “Everyone . . . *shall* be likened”; Mk. 3:29: “But he that *shall* blaspheme”; 35: “Whosoever *shall* do the will”; Mk. 4:24: “In what measure you *shall* mete”; Mk. 6:10: “Whosoever you *shall* enter”; 11: “Whosoever *shall* not receive you”; Mk. 7:10: “He that *shall* curse,” etc.

5. The *will*, *would* of conditional *if*-clauses, expressing volition or willingness on the part of the subject of the sentence, is found in Mt. 5:40,41: “If a man *will* contend with thee . . . whosoever *will* force thee”; 14,15: “If you *will* forgive . . . your heavenly Father *will* forgive . . . if you *will* not forgive . . . neither *will* your heavenly Father forgive”; Mt. 7:9,10: “*Will* he reach him a stone? . . . *will* he reach him a serpent?” 11: “How much more *will* your heavenly Father”; Mk. 8:34: “If any man *will* follow me”; 35: “Whosoever *will* save”; Jn. 7:17: “If a man *will* do”; Jn. 14:2: “If not, I *would* have told you”; 3: “If I shall go, I *will* come again and *will* take you,” etc.

6. The *shall*, *will* of questions is found in Ps. 23:3: "Who *shall* ascend?... who *shall* stand?" Ps. 40:6: "When *shall* he die?" Mt. 7:9,10: "Will he reach him a stone?" "Will he reach him a serpent?" Mk. 4:13: "How *shall* you know all parables?" 30: "To what *shall* we listen?" Mk. 6:24: "What *shall* I ask?" Mk. 8:36: "What *shall* it profit?" 37: "What *shall* a man give?" Lk. 1:18: "Whereby *shall* I know this?" 34: "How *shall* this be done?" 66: "What one *shall* this child be?" Lk. 12:17: "What *shall* I do?" Jn. 6:5; "Whence *shall* we buy bread?" 28: "What *shall* we do?" Jn. 7:31: "When the Christ cometh, *shall* He do more miracles?" 35: "Whither *will* he go?" Acts. 1:6: "Wilt thou at this time restore, etc.?" Acts. 4:16: "What *shall* we do to these men?"

These are but sample illustrations, taken at random from the English Bible, of some of the rules about *shall* and *will* which we have given. It would take too long to give more. Any reader or student can apply the rules for himself, if he knows them and knows what the speaker wishes to say.

It will be noted that modern translations are often very far from observing the correct idiomatic use of these forms, and are consequently seriously defective in this particular. Moreover, as said above, even the Authorized Version and the Douay-Rheims sometimes disagree, or seem not to follow the rules; but when they do so, it is, so far as we have noticed, generally a question of interpreting the speaker's mind, whether, namely, his volition and control are expressed, or mere future contingency.

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OBSCURITIES IN THE LATIN PSALTER

31. Psalm 43:13b. (Tuesday, at None.)

Vendidisti populum tuum sine pretio: *et non fuit multitudo in commutationibus eorum.*

In substance the text is uniform. The LXX's original of *commutationibus* seems to have strayed, but is not difficult to reconstruct, and has not influenced the Vulgate. However, the latter has followed the LXX in *fuit multitudo*, which could also (and better) have been rendered *fuit incrementum*. TM has here a single verb in the second person of the perfect, which is very likely original: "hast increased." Jerome read his contemporary Hebrew as follows: *Vendidisti populum tuum sine pretio: nec grandis fuit commutatio eorum*; or better (one source), *et non foenerasti in commutatione eorum*. This last renders perfectly our own Hebrew of TM:

"Thou sellest Thy people for no value,
and hast not grown great (been enriched) by their prices."

A mere exchange of *non fuit multitudo* for *non es magnificatus* is sufficient explanation.

32. Psalm 43:19b. (Tuesday, at None.)

Et non recessit retro cor nostrum: *et declinasti semitas nostras a via tua.*

The apparent moral difficulty involved in the affirmation is due to the LXX, as so often elsewhere. Yet its authors merely took the wrong turn in the construction of the verb. In Hebrew the singular of the imperfect tense (which expresses past time when linked, as here, by *wau* conversive with a preceding perfect) has two forms exactly alike, the third person feminine, and the second person masculine. Here the real subject of the verb is the Hebrew for *semitas*, a feminine noun in the singular. The LXX, reading the verb as second person masculine, led to the version *declinasti*, which is puzzling as addressed to God in such an affirmation. But a third person feminine verb, with *semita nostra* as subject, is easily intelligible: "Nor has our going strayed from Thy way." Jerome himself translates, *Nec declina-verunt gressus nostri a semita tua*, which expresses the same idea, though altering the number of the subject.

33. Psalm 44:5d. (Wednesday, at Matins.)

Propter veritatem, et mansuetudinem, et justitiam: *et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua.*

Jerome's version of the second member varies between the readings *et docebit te terribilia dextera tua* and *edocet te terribiliter dextera tua*. Both attest a text identical with TM. The passive participle, here rendered *terribilia*, may regularly express a gerundive as fitly as a perfect. Again, its meaning in this verb is not always *tremenda*, but often simply *admiranda*. The latter seems more in keeping with the peaceable principles of conduct mentioned in the first member. The Messianic King is congratulated with the prediction "Thy right hand shall teach Thee wonders."

34. Psalm 44:14a. (Wednesday, at Matins.)

Omnis gloria ejus filiae regis ab intus: in fimbriis aureis circumamicta varietatibus.

The LXX again gives occasion to our version of the first member. Jerome writes, instead, *omnis gloria filiae regis intrinsecus*. This rightly omits *ejus*, which is the LXX's reading, probably incorrect, of a Hebrew termination. But it makes this same ending govern a genitive, *filiae*, and this is a doubtful variation from TM. As the latter stands, *omnis gloria* would mean literally "the fullness of glory;" and this, in its character as predicate, is equivalent to "altogether glorious."

Thus "the king's daughter," who is none other than the royal bride already introduced as "the queen," is "perfectly splendid" in her adornment, which the poet goes on to describe; nothing is wanting to her appearance. But what of *ab intus*? *Ab* has no Hebrew counterpart. The word is either "inside" or "to the interior," according to context. Some (Bi Bo.) incline, though with hesitation, to correct the reading to another word meaning "pearls" or "coral," as belonging to the ensuing description of the bride's ornaments. But the correction involved would be considerable; and a feature of the following description, if introduced thus early, is hardly favorable to the metrical balance. "Inside" seems preferable, whether as situation or as term of motion.

Taking it as situation, and interchanging subject with predicate, it is suggested (Ho.) to translate "the full glory of the king's daughter is interior," as if pertaining to her moral character or disposition. In a messianic Psalm this would yield an attractive mystical sense; but we are dealing with the literal at present. With this in view, as the majority observe, the idea is at sudden variance with a context wholly given to a description of visible attractions. Besides, this would return to "king's daughter" as a genitive after "glory," instead of making it the subject to which "the fullness of glory" is attributed as predicate.

The queen, thus splendidly attired, is not yet within "the king's palace" (16), but is proceeding thither with her ladies of honor (15), as her apparel inspires the poet's praise. Upon entering to meet her royal bridegroom, she will be a perfect adornment to the place and the occasion. As to grammatical construction, this glance at the near future leaves it possible to understand "inside" either of situation or of term of motion.

In the first case, the copula between subject and predicate, being omitted as is usual, may as well be rendered in the future as in the present, giving the sense "The king's daughter will be completely splendid (when) within," entirely worthy of her place in the scene. On the other hand, the verbs which express her present advance (15-16) may presuppose another here, and "within" may be taken as the term of its motion: *Omnimodis gloriosa filia regis (graditur) intro* (Zo.)—"All glorious the king's daughter passes in."

35. Psalm 46:10b.

(Monday, at Lauds.)

Principes populorum congregati sunt cum Deo Abraham:
quoniam dñi fortes terrae vehementer elevati sunt.

Jerome understands *quoniam dñi scuta terrae vehementer elevata* (al. *elevati*) *sunt*. Thus he is literal as regards "the shields of earth," who are its princes considered as protectors. He has them in apposition with *dñi*, giving the latter a meaning which is quite possible. In Hebrew, which is innocent of capital letters, the very same form which denotes "God" by an artificial plural, may as a natural plural designate "gods" in any sense, including earthly "potentates" of one or another rank, especially in poetry. Either "God" or "mighty ones" is possible here.

But the word is introduced by the prepositional prefix *lamed*, which must be original, since the LXX makes "God" (taken in its commonest use) a genitive, apparently understanding the preposition as "belonging to." On the other hand, while the final verb in TM is in the singular, the LXX's equivalent is plural. This would be difficult to construe.

The best explanation seems to consist in taking TM as it stands (Bi. Zo.) and understanding "belonging to God" as predicted of "the shields of earth," with the copula omitted as usual. Then *elevatus est* (for *elevati sunt*) remains as predicate of a further sentence, the finite verb implying its subject. The second member of our verse thus explains the first. There is a general recourse of peoples, through their leaders, to the true God of Abraham; this consummation is either explained (*quoniam*) or simply expanded by the second member. Thus: "Because the shields of the earth belong to God; He is greatly exalted" (Bi., with one punctuation altered), or, *Nam Dei sunt clipei terrae: valde exaltatus est!* (Zo.).

It is true that the final verb can be rendered as an impersonal passive, "there has been great exaltation," so as to yield the sense "What a splendid honor for the great ones of the earth!" (Bo.). But the unvaried theme of the whole Psalm is the incomparable exaltation of Israel's God Himself, which would thus fail and fade at its very conclusion. The former explanation seems far preferable, though harder to present as a possible translation of the Vulgate.

36. Psalm 48:8a. (Wednesday, at Matins.)

*Frater non redimit, redimet homo: non dabit Deo
placationem suam.*

The general sense presents no difficulty; it stresses the truth that death is inevitable to all alike, since no man is able to buy off the natural extinction of his life in due time. Moreover, he can find no other man able to do so for him. This the Hebrew expresses quite simply, the LXX alone being responsible for some grammatical confusion. There is but one finite verb, one subject, and one object, in a passage of which LXX and Vulgate appear to make two sentences. Jerome, however, renders the Hebrew *Fratrem redimens non redimet vir*, and quite aptly, un-

less *redimendo* might improve upon *redimens*. But this construction cannot be rendered with verbal exactness in Western tongues.

It is very familiar to Hebrew students. When a finite verb is preceded by its own infinitive absolute, the latter is like an adverbial noun, either emphatic or restrictive—the latter usually in negations. In early biblical versions this idiom is often imitated verbally instead of being translated *secundum sensum*. Thus *morte morieris* (Gen. 2:17) too rigidly imitates the Hebrew of a warning “Thou shalt certainly die”; while the negative form *nequaquam morte moriemini* (Gen. 3:4) tries to render the confident prediction “You will not die at all.” The same construction involves a restrictive modification, rather than an emphasis, in some negations, as in Am. 9:8, *verumtamen conterens non conteram domum Jacob*, “except that I will not entirely crush the House of Jacob.”

We have only to substitute *fratrem* for *frater*, and take *redimit* as merely emphasizing *non*, thus reading, “A man will by no means redeem a brother.”

37. Psalm 48:9b-11a. (Wednesday, at Matins.)

(9b) et laborabit in aeternum, (10) et vivet adhuc in finem. (11) *Non videbit interitum, cum viderit sapientes morientes: simul insipiens, et stultus peribunt.*

Some uncertainty attaches to a few expressions in TM, and Jerome's version is not so close to it as usual. But the affirmation of 11a, which seems so contradictory, is partly due to a lack of express connection, and partly to a division of verses which overlooks the metrical balance. One would venture to suggest the following, which strikes a balance between Bird and Zorell:

- (8) “A man will by no means redeem a brother,
he will give God no recompense for him.
- (9) And costly will be the ransom of their life,
and he will always fall short (of it),
- (10) even let him live on to the end,
so that he see not corruption.
- (11) For he sees that wise men die,
likewise the foolish and stupid perish,
and leave their wealth to others.”

Thus the difficult clause is not absolute, but part of a condition contrary to fact.

38. Psalm 48:14b. (Wednesday, at Matins.)

Haec via illorum scandalum ipsis: *et postea in ore
suo complacebunt.*

Though virtually right, the sense "and their followers will applaud their speech" is not quite literally borne out by the pointing of TM. To alter this would be no very radical correction. Preserving it, however, we need only supply an indefinite subject for *complacebunt*: "and after them, men will applaud their speech." It is not themselves who live to approve the way of life which was "a scandal to them."

39. Psalm 49:23b. (Wednesday, at Matins.)

Sacrificium laudis honorificabit me: *et illic iter, quo
ostendam illi salutare Dei.*

Here the explanation is both evident and simple. "Sacrifice" has been read, with other vowels, for the participle "sacrificing" of TM. *Illic* (after the LXX) wrongly reads *shin* for *sin*, the first radical of another participle meaning "ordering" or "arranging." Jerome himself corrects them both, writing *Qui immolat confessionem, glorificat me: et qui ordinat viam, ostendam ei salutare Dei*. Thus we have

"Who offers praise, he will honor me;
and who orders his way, I will show him the salvation of
God."

To be continued.

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HURRIANS

The sudden emergence of the Hurrians from the obscurity in which they were buried is another of the many surprises in Near East excavation. Until recently, very little was known about them and the part they played in Near East history during a large part of the second millennium B.C. The Hittite tablets of Boghazkeui indeed mention them frequently, but it was not until after the discoveries of Dr. Edward Chiera at Yorgan Tapa (Nuzi) near Kirkuk that their importance as a separate ethnic group began to be apparent.

While tracking down a local legend regarding twenty donkey-loads of cuneiform tablets found in a field, Dr. Chiera of the American Schools of Oriental Research at Baghdad came upon this site, which proved to be the ancient Hurrian city of Nuzi. During the first season in the winter of 1925-26, a thousand tablets were found, most of them being the business records for several generations of the Tehip-Tilla family. This first season's work was done under the auspices of the American Schools and the Iraq Museum. Subsequent expeditions under the auspices of Harvard University in conjunction with the American Schools and with the University Museum of Philadelphia have brought to light three thousand more tablets.

The tablets were written in the Accadian language, but with peculiar mistakes in grammar and spelling, and with a considerable sprinkling of non-Accadian words. The contents of the tablets revealed a population with a Hurrian background, and the name of the city as Nuzi. Since but little was known at the time about the Hurrians and their own language, it was really fortunate that these tablets had been inscribed in Accadian rather than in Hurrian. The Accadian of the tablets, although corrupt in form, was sufficiently comprehensible to give us quickly a good picture of Hurrian daily life with its distinctive features, and the very mistakes furnished valuable clues for the identification and decipherment of strictly Hurrian texts found elsewhere.

A letter from King Saushshattar of Mitanni, to whom these Hurrians of distant Nuzi owed allegiance, was found in stratum II. This would give a fifteenth century B.C. synchronization for most of the Hurrian material discovered thus far at this site. Trial pits in various parts of the mound have disclosed a non-Hurrian culture in stratum III, and from the two hundred Old Accadian tablets recovered, it was learned that the name of the site in the earlier period was not Nuzi but Gasur. Although it is not as yet clear when the Hurrians established themselves on this site, and whether they were already Semitized in speech when they came, excavations in other parts of northern

Iraq and Syria point to the presence of Hurrians in these regions as early as the eighteenth century B.C.

Where the Hurrians came from, is still a mystery, but the evidence is beginning to point toward the Caucasus. Evidently, they were caught in the great migrations of peoples in the eighteenth century B.C., or even earlier. They established themselves across what is now northern Iraq and Syria, and spread into the neighboring regions. The Kingdom of Mitanni or Hanigalbat on the upper Euphrates (probably the Naharina of earlier days) was really Hurrian, although the ruling classes seemed to have been Indo-Iranian at first, and Hittite later. The letter of King Tushratta of Mitanni to Amenhotep III of Egypt, which was found among the Amarna tablets and over which linguists have labored for half a century, is now definitely known to be Hurrian. As Mitanni was at the cross-roads of trade routes, the Kingdom played a very important part in the struggles for the domination of the Near East.

In addition to the Tushratta letter, linguists have a number of Hurrian texts from Boghazkeui, Mari, and Ras Shamra, one of the tablets from Ras Shamra being a bi-lingual vocabulary in Sumerian and Hurrian. There are also the Accadian tablets of Nuzi and Arrapha (Kirkuk) with their Hurrian background and admixture of Hurrian words. Pioneer work in Hurrian is being done by Thureau-Dangin, Friedrich, Brandstein, and Speiser. The language is non-Semitic, non-Indo-European, non-Indo-Iranian. It seems to have no relation to Hattic (Proto-Hittite), Sumerian, Elamite, and Cassite. Prof. Speiser's articles "Progress in the Study of the Hurrian Language" and "Studies in Hurrian Grammar" will give an idea of what has been accomplished thus far.

Very recently, the Hurrians have been brought into the discussions concerning the Hyksos movements in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Although it is generally believed that the Hyksos who established themselves in the Egyptian Delta about the middle of the eighteenth century B.C. were Semites, evidence is beginning to accumulate that there were non-Semitic elements among them, particularly in the later phases of their influence. If names and the presence of certain wares similar to those found in Hurrian strata elsewhere are legitimate criteria, there is good reason for believing that a considerable number of Hurrians were to be found in the Hyksos groups, or at least near them. Attention is also called to the fact that after the Hyksos were pushed into southern Palestine about 1580 B.C., the Egyptians called that region Khuru. As Prof. Albright and others have pointed out, there would be no difficulty linguistically in equating the Khuru with the Hurrians, since Egyptian does not double the "r."

The Horites whom Esau dispossessed in Mt. Seir of Edom (Deut.

2:12,22; cf. Gen. 14:6; 36:20) are now believed to have been Hurrians. If the Hivites were Horites, as some maintain, there would then possibly be biblical testimony for the presence of Hurrians in Gabaon, Sichem, Hermon, and Libanus (Gen. 34:2; Jos. 2:3,19; 13:4; Jdgs. 3:3; 2 Kgs. 24:7). In Gen. 26:2, Sebeon is called a Hivite, while in verses 20 and 29 he is considered to be a Horite. There is but the difference of a *waw* and a *resh* in the Hebrew spelling, two letters which are very easily confused. The Septuagint uses *χoppaïos* regularly for Horite, and in two places for Hivite of the Hebrew text (Gen. 34:2; Jos. 9:7). The Latin Vulgate has Horrhaeus, Horraeus, or Chorrhaeus. Our English Douay-Rheims version uses Horrite and Chorrean, with a double "r" in both words.

The biggest surprise in the Hurrian material of Nuzi was the number of parallels to the Pentateuchal narratives. Critics, who have glibly dismissed these narratives as rather late inventions projected into a remote past where they did not fit, will feel rather uncomfortable in the presence of actual documents, almost contemporary with Patriarchal times. Dr. Cyrus H. Gordon, who has made a special study of these parallels, has already given some account of them in the *Revue Biblique* (1935, pp. 29-34), and will give a complete account (non-technical) in the forthcoming number of the *Biblical Archaeologist*.* The Hurrians are indeed a new factor in the history of the ancient East, and they are also proving to be a new factor in Pentateuchal criticism.

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* Published quarterly by the American Schools of Oriental Research, 409 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. Subscription Price: 50¢ per year.

BIBLICAL NEWS

When the Catholic Biblical Association held its general meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, Nov. 4 and 5, 1939, it was unanimously resolved that the determination of the place and time for the next general meeting be decided by the Executive Board of the Association. According to present reports the Association will hold its next general meeting in Toronto, Canada. His Excellency, The Most Reverend James Charles McGuigan, D. D., Archbishop of Toronto, has graciously approved of this choice. The meeting will probably take place August 26 and 27, 1940.

With the appearance of each issue the Catholic Biblical Quarterly is rapidly becoming known not only in the English-speaking world, but in other countries as well. Among other things, *The Buckfast Abbey Chronicle*, in its Winter Quarter for 1939, notes that the Quarterly is the first biblical periodical of its kind to appear in English. We are glad to note too that others realize and approve the purpose which the Catholic Biblical Association of America insisted upon when the Quarterly was founded. Its purpose has endeavored to meet the demands of the biblical specialist and the average educated reader.

From Argentina comes news of another Catholic Quarterly devoted to the study and spread of the Bible. In June of 1939 the first number of *Revista Biblica* appeared in Argentina. The periodical is edited by Msgr. Dr. J. Straubinger, San Pedro de Jujuy, Argentina, and the Rev. Dr. Clem. Kopp, Haiffa, Palestine. The subscription price is \$4.00 per year.

The Rev. Francis Xavier Kortleitner, O.Praem. died October 2, 1939, at Innsbruck, Austria. Father Kortleitner was a consultant of the Biblical Commission, and likewise renowned as the author of many books on biblical subjects.

BOOK REVIEWS

WILLIAM J. MCGARRY, S.J., *Paul and the Crucified* (New York: America Press, 1939). Pp. xx, 272. \$3.00.

The subtitle of this book, "The Apostle's Theology of the Cross," indicates the manner of treatment. It is a systematic study of St. Paul's profound teaching on our redemption through the passion and death of Christ. But the irksomeness of dry study is banished by the charming effects of the smoothly flowing style, the abundance of apt illustrations, and a rare sense for the dramatic that brings to life the men and events of a distant past.

After a brief introduction describing the shock that came to the Jews of Jerusalem through the preaching and passion of our Lord and the irrepressible activity of the early Church, the first chapter shows the miraculous manner in which the full force of that shock was brought to bear on Saul when the risen Saviour appeared to him in person on the road to Damascus and transformed the fiery persecutor into a still more fiery apostle.

The burden of the new apostle's preaching is then summed up in his own words, "We preach Christ crucified," the boast of Christians, but a stumbling block to the Jews with their perverted ideas about the finality of the Mosaic law and about the national glory that was to be theirs at the coming of the Messias, and foolishness to the Greeks who laughed at the weakness that led to the cross and at the idea of a man rising from the dead. That St. Paul's preaching overcame such difficulties and founded a far-flung series of Christian communities can be explained only as he himself explained it, and that is by the powerful operation of the grace of God.

In the third chapter Fr. McGarry enters upon a careful study of the fundamental points in the theology of this preaching and deals with Christ as Saviour, with the universal need of salvation because of the curse of original sin, and with the new solidarity in Himself which Christ gives to the human race. The fourth chapter is concerned with Christ as Priest, eternal, all-sufficient, and superior in Himself and in His sacrifice to the priests and sacrifices of the Old Testament. Finally two chapters trace the positive results of salvation in union with Christ, first for the individual and then for the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ.

No attempt is made to explain all the texts after the manner of such works as Prat's *The Theology of St. Paul*, but the most significant texts are selected so that all the main ideas centering around the doctrine of our redemption stand out in bold relief. Among the topics discussed most strikingly or helpfully may be mentioned: the solidarity of the human race first in Adam and then in Christ, with a

clear marking of the limits to which the theory of evolution must be confined; the sacrifice of the cross with a study of the relation of the Mass to Calvary; Melchisedech as a type of Christ, with a defense of the validity of types in Scripture and an explanation of their characteristics; union with Christ as seen in individual souls and in the Church as a whole.

Outside the Church the Catholic dogmas regarding the redemption are for the most part rejected or attacked, and at each step in his study of St. Paul Fr. McGarry meets the opposition squarely and reveals its futility. Following the guidance of Leo XIII in *Providentissimus Deus*, he dismisses whole battalions of adversaries by sending them off to learn the elementary truths about the existence and nature of God, His providence and revelation, and His determining influence in the writing of our sacred books. He concedes the sincerity of many of these opponents and regrets their lack of systematic training and the blindness due to prejudice. Where there are real difficulties, he patiently discusses the historical or theological points involved and brings out clearly the truth of the Catholic position; notable among such discussions are those on St. Paul's conversion and on the omission of any reference to the bread and wine in the development of the typical significance of Melchisedech.

Where Catholic theologians are still in disagreement in their attempts to penetrate more deeply into the profundities of revealed truths, Fr. McGarry contents himself with giving the reasonings and conclusions of the different schools.

The bibliography contains only twenty-three references, but they are carefully selected, divided into three sections, and accompanied by brief notes. There is both a topical and a biblical index.

Our biblical literature in America has been really enriched by this book and its use should stimulate interest in the epistles of the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

WILLIAM A. DOWD, S.J.

C. LATTEY, S.J., M.A., *Paul* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1939). Pp. xi, 173. \$2.00.

To make St. Paul himself better known to all classes of men and to render his letters more readable was the twofold most commendable purpose of this little book. It fulfills its purpose admirably as everybody expected it would. For the general reader it is a noteworthy addition to our English Catholic literature and should be read by all who are interested in the grand Apostle of the Gentiles.

Personally, however, this reviewer is deeply disappointed in the book. It is quite too general and sketchy to be of any special use to professors and students of Scripture. We all expected Father Lattey

to turn out something comparable to Murillo's *Paulus*, or Prat's *Théologie de Saint Paul*. Perhaps, the esteemed author will at some future date develop fully the admirable sketch he has provided in this little volume. Well known for his deep personal love for St. Paul and his rich knowledge of the Pauline literature, Father Lattey should give the Catholic world the full fruit of his long study. Fullest appreciation of the work entailed in producing *Paul* and unstinted praise for the book are hereby accorded with a hope for a more complete work in the future.

EDWARD A. MANGAN, C.SS.R.

LEO GREGORY FINK, *John, Apostle of Peace* (New York: The Paulist Press, 1939). Pp. xix, 156. \$1.50.

The author of this volume, a priest of the Philadelphia Archdiocese, has published similar works on Peter, Paul, and Luke, in addition to many other subjects. He merits praise for his diligence, in the midst of parochial cares, and especially for recognizing the need of literature that might lead to further interest in the Scriptures. This treatment of St. John as an apostle of peace was recommended to Msgr. Fink by the late Pope Pius XI. From this, no less than from the attractive title, the reader is led to anticipate a few delightful hours with the Disciple whom Jesus loved.

The book, however, does not meet this expectation. It is not so much an analysis or description of the life of St. John as a sketchy and hurried review of the circumstances in which he lived, and through which one gets an occasional glimpse of the Apostle, but not of his work for peace. This might not be a bad way of handling the proposed subject if the sketch itself were more satisfactory, or if the Apostle were brought to the reader's attention more than by mere mention. Further, the reader must be disappointed at the sadly inadequate treatment of the character of St. John, of his intimacy with the Master, of his close association with St. Peter, of his care of the Blessed Virgin, elements which might be considered essential to any book on this Apostle.

The reader's disappointment must grow into wonderment when he comes face to face with a number of details and statements which are unexplainably erroneous, unexplainable particularly in view of the bibliography which the author adds at the end of the book. Some of the more striking of these faults merit indication. The author calls John the "inspired historian of Jesus," a statement inaccurate in itself and contrasting with the later description of the fourth Gospel as theological and allegorical. He credits this Gospel with an eloquent account of the institution of the Blessed Sacrament, which is so strikingly absent from John's Gospel. The Sermon on the Mount is located

on the very improbable Horns of Hattin; the story of the woman taken in adultery (Jn. 7:53-8:11) is placed on Mt. Olivet, in spite of Jn. 8:2; Philip is said to have preached and made many converts in the desert of Gaza (*sic!*). A similar weakness modifies the author's chronology. The death of the Baptist and the marriage feast at Cana are associated as if occurring at the same time; Peter is said to have preached at Ephesus from 37 A.D. to 43 A.D. (surely a misprint); Matthew composed his Gospel in 39 A.D., Mark his in 43 A.D., and Luke his in 57 A.D. This type of inaccuracy is accompanied by equally questionable exegesis. The purpose of the miracle of the wine at Cana is said to have been the strengthening of the faith of the apostles in the Sacrament of Matrimony; the cure of the centurion's servant and the restoration of the widow's son were symbols of the forgiveness of sins; in the difficulties between Jewish and Gentile converts, Peter is said to have sided with the Jews prior to the Council at Jerusalem. And there are other statements of like questionable value.

A book intended for the edification of our people should be written with extreme care, in spite of the tag "popular" which will mark it. The average reader is not inclined to question the authority of the writer, but rather adopts readily the information offered him. In many instances this will constitute his understanding of the Bible itself. We should like to see Msgr. Fink continue, and others enter this field of popular literature on the Scriptures, but with two provisions not found in the present volume: careful study of the subject to be treated, and a type of English that will be both correct and attractive.

WILLIAM L. NEWTON.

JAMES M. MCGLINCHAY, C.M., S.T.D., *The Teaching of Amen-em-ope and the Book of Proverbs*. A Dissertation. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1939). Pp. xii, 44.

The relation between Hebrew wisdom literature and that of other oriental peoples has been much studied, but it still offers many interesting phases for study. Dr. McGlinchey has selected for his investigation one of the most fruitful aspects of this comparison, and he has gone about his work with a thoroughness which promises well for his later essays in the field. The present volume contains but one chapter of the original dissertation, to which is added an appropriate introduction and an extensive bibliography. Examining the first nine chapters of Proverbs in the light of the Teachings of Amen-em-ope, and the modern comment on the subject, the author comes to the opinion that, if there is dependence, it is of the Egyptian document upon the Hebrew. This conclusion is not new, but the manner of arriving at it is quite independent, and for this reason of distinct value.

One regrets that the entire study could not have been published.

The omitted chapters take a wider view of ancient wisdom literature, and extend the comparison with Amen-em-ope to other sections of Proverbs. These chapters would also, without doubt, add to the contribution the author has made to the subject, and they would provide a background for the given chapter which will be missed by all except those who have already done some reading on the question.

WILLIAM L. NEWTON.

JOSHUA TRACHTENBERG, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: a Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939). Pp. xii, 356. \$3.50.

This thoroughly competent and admirably presented scholarly work does credit to author and publisher alike. The milieu dealt with is the North European Jewry of the period A.D. 1000-1600. All available sources have been not only painstakingly investigated, and assembled (pp. 315-32) in a valuable bibliography, but the disposition of the resulting material in the text is excellent, and the publisher's claim that the "writing is superb" is sober fact. The author's expressed wish that his book be regarded as a "humble appendix" to Prof. Lynn Thorndike's *History of Magic and Experimental Science* does no more than suggest the definitive character and broader interest of this synthesis. Documentation for the details is given in a series of notes toward the end of the volume (with two appendices; pp. 260-314). Facility of handling and greater usefulness are further provided for by a list of abbreviations and of Hebrew works by title, by a glossary of Hebrew terms and an adequate topical index.

When treating of things specifically Christian, however, the writer shows himself quite out of his element. Some of the points concerned involve judgments made from premises incompatible with Christian belief and practice. Thus, exorcism is necessarily a magical procedure based on superstition (pp. 158, 282); Jewish physicians were free from the "Church-fostered superstition of miraculous cures, relics and the like" (p. 4); and "saint worship was never a part of Judaism" (p. 64). Priest and magician are once grouped together (p. 105) in a highly objectionable manner. In other cases, it is the factual information involved which is erroneous. The Virgin Birth is confused (p. 183) with the Immaculate Conception. A passage from St. Cyril of Jerusalem is rendered in quotation marks (p. 195), but quite wrongly, and in a context which magnifies the error. The statement "During the early Christian centuries the Church had been rocked by the controversy over the doctrine of transubstantiation" (p. 6) is a digression almost incredibly wrong. The vagaries of superstition on the subject of sexual relationship between men and demons were "accepted as literally true by the Church" (p. 282).

For the highly interesting word-square "Sator arepo tenet opera rotas," imperfectly quoted (p. 201) after Steinschneider, one can consult now a note by Floyd Filson in the *Biblical Archaeologist* of last May—vol. 2, no. 2, May, 1939, pp. 13-16.

PATRICK W. SKEHAN.

DONALD WAYNE RIDDLE, *The Gospels, Their Origin and Growth* (Chicago University Press, 1939). Pp. ix, 303. \$3.00.

The author of this book either wishes to be considered the reviver of out-moded theories among non-Catholics regarding the origin of the four Gospels, or he does not know that the theories he proposes were antiquated twenty years ago according to the opinions of the most reputable of the champions of the so-called higher criticism. His bibliography inclines us to conjecture that he does not know that his theories are no longer considered probable.

What author who has read anything published on the life of Christ within the last generation—other than the most outlandish pre-Strauss fantasies or the most prejudiced of Jewish writings—could possibly pen such drivel as: "Jesus was unfortunately involved in situations in which he becomes the innocent victim of the coldly austere and ruthlessly stern administration of the controlling Roman government. Alert to observe and quick to quell any public disturbance, the officer in charge, directly responsible to the emperor, was willing to err on the side of strictness rather than to temper his severity with kindness and mercy." This is as deliberate a historical lie as the hired witnesses told when they said that Jesus was a disturber of the public peace.

But this passage which appears in the second chapter of Mr. Riddle's book is a fair index of the whole. Assumptions, theoretical conjectures, guesses that have been disproved a thousand times are all written down as established facts in a categorical style which would be almost insulting to an intelligent reader were it not so ridiculous.

According to this book the Gospel which we know as St. Mark's was written first and its date should be after the deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul. All of St. Paul's letters were written before any Gospel. When St. Matthew's Gospel was written the Jewish sacrifices had ceased. The writer of "Luke-Acts" wrote shortly after St. Matthew's Gospel was written. And as to St. John's Gospel, the author of *The Gospels* says that though not a great span of time separated "Luke-Acts" from John, yet John was altogether different. Of John himself or rather of the author of the fourth gospel, he says: "This writer, although he was within a trend whose full development Gnosticism grew, was as yet of a group which had not gone the length of the later Gnosticism." Of course the opinion that both Matthew and Luke-

Acts had as sources the much more primitive Mark and many other written sources is an axiom with Mr. Riddle. It is taken for granted and used as a proof for other statements. The old subterfuge of doing away with history by a display of knowledge appears all too frequently in this book. For instance, the author says: "It is a maxim of modern biblical study that such a book as Luke-Acts is to be used primarily as a source for information concerning the period in which it was written rather than the period about which its stories are told." In other words, if I write a history, my book is to give information about my own time and not about the time of which I write.

The book is an object lesson, I think, to a Catholic Scripture scholar and above all, to ecclesiastical students. There seems to be an opinion rife in these days that Introduction to Holy Scripture is an unimportant branch of study, that it isn't needed. The book by Mr. Riddle shows what is being taught and believed and only makes us realize how diligently we must study the historical origins of our Gospels, so we may not be deluded into forsaking history for wild theories based on wilder internal criticism.

EDWARD A. MANGAN, C.Ss.R.

GILBERT SIMMONS, C.S.P., *The Saviour's Life* (New York: The Paulist Press, 1939). Pp. xi, 258. \$1.00.

The Catholic laity in general should welcome this little volume of our Saviour's life. Unlike the many lives of Christ which have been written in recent years, this little work is based solely on the Gospel narratives themselves. Fr. Simmons has arranged the four Gospels so as to present one continuous narrative of our Lord's life. For the most part he has followed the Rheims Version, but occasionally he does not hesitate to adopt that of Fr. Spencer.

The work is divided into ten sections and twenty-three chapters. Throughout, the circumstances of time and place are supplied, thus enabling the reader to appreciate more fully the events of our Saviour's life. At the end of each section Fr. Treacy, S.J., has supplied a summary and questions which may be used to advantage in the classroom as well as in discussion clubs. With such a guide the average reader will undoubtedly better understand the Gospels themselves.

CHARLES H. PICKAR, O.S.A.

CYRIL GAUL, O.S.B., *Rome and the Study of Scripture* (St. Meinrad: The Abbey Press, 1937). Pp. 84. \$0.30 postpaid.

In the preface to the second edition, by way of apology the compiler expresses the purpose of this small collection of papal enactments on Sacred Scripture. No apology, however, is needed. Without a doubt the Abbey Press has provided a service which English-speaking

scholars and professors of Sacred Scripture will appreciate. Fundamentally, the collection of documents is based upon the Enchiridion Biblicum. It was not the compiler's intention to present a complete copy of all the papal pronouncements on Sacred Scripture. Personally, however, there is room for such a collection in English, and I look forward to a later revised and enlarged edition of *Rome and the Study of Scripture*.
CHARLES H. PICKAR, O.S.A.

JAMES THAYER ADDISON, *Parables of Our Lord* (New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1940). Pp. 75. \$.65.

The parables of our Lord have been the subject matter for sermons and meditations from time immemorial. In this brochure the author has selected six parables of our Lord upon which to base a portion of spiritual reading for each day in Lent. His reflections, presented as they are in a clear style and concise terms, afford pleasant reading.

CHARLES H. PICKAR, O.S.A.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Some of these may be reviewed in subsequent issues)

The American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven, Conn.:

Explorations of Eastern Palestine, III. By Nelson Glueck. 1940. Pp. xxiv, 288, Plates 22. \$2.50.

Morehouse-Gorham Co., New York, N. Y.:

Parables of Our Lord. By James Thayer Addison. 1940. Pp. 75. \$.65.

Oxford University Press, New York, N. Y.:

The Descent of the Dove. By Charles Williams. 1940. Pp. ix, 245. \$2.50.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, N. Y.:

And Pilate Said. By Frank Morison. 1940. Pp. 275. \$2.75.

The Macmillan Company, New York, N. Y.:

Readings from the Apocrypha. Selected and Translated by W. O. E. Oosterley, D.D., Litt.D. 1939. Pp. xiv. 180. \$1.50.

Chapman and Grimes, Inc., Boston, Mass.:

The Key to the Psalms. By Sylvester Vernon Williams. 1939. Pp. 157. \$1.25.

The Jewish Publication Society of America, Phila., Pa.:

Aftergrowth and other Stories. By Hayyim Nahman Bialik. 1939. Pp. v, 216. \$2.50.

The Jew in the Literature of England. By Montagu F. Modder. 1939. Pp. ix, 439. \$2.50.

THE APPARITIONS OF CHRIST RISEN

THE EVIDENCE

It is well known that there is some difficulty in finding a satisfactory order for Christ's apparitions after the resurrection. This difficulty it has been my task for many years to consider, both inside the class-room and out of it; and I am putting down my conclusions in the hope that they may help to throw some light upon the subject.

The Resurrection is the supreme proof of Christ's divine mission. He had prophesied it several times over, and of necessity in prophecy of the most convincing kind, that which requires a miracle for its fulfillment. The prophecy lies embedded in the synoptic gospels, whence no criticism of sources can tear it out; it was certainly to be found in the common narrative. Three times all three gospels repeat it: only St. Luke fails once to do so. The first occasion is in Mk. 8:31; Mt. 16:21; Lk. 9:22. The second is in Mk. 9:31 and Mt. 17:23; but not in the parallel Lk. 9:44. St. Luke is concerned in his story to insist with Christ Himself upon the Passion, which was a stumbling-block to the Jews and even to His disciples, as is evident from his gospel and the Acts: cf. Lk. 24:26,46; Acts 26:23. The third prophecy is in Mk. 10:34; Mt. 20:19; Lk. 18:33.

With such strong evidence from all three synoptic gospels, it is not important to look for other proof that our Lord prophesied His Resurrection. Still, such a prophecy is contained in the explanation of the "sign of Jonah" in Mt. 12:40. St. Luke in the parallel passage (9:30) does not explain the precise nature of the "sign," which evidently would have little point in it if it merely referred to Jonah's preaching, mentioned in Matthew as in Luke. Nor does St. Matthew explain the sign in his other reference to it (16:4), which makes a "doublet" with that already quoted. St. John, as is his wont, refrains from repeating what the synoptists have already related, but adds an independent confirmation of his own. He does not narrate Christ's promise of the primacy to St. Peter, but tells in his last chapter how the promise was fulfilled. Contrariwise, he relates the promise of the name *Kepha*, "rock," "petra" in Greek, but gives the masculine termination to make it the name of a man, "Petros," our "Peter" (Jn. 1:42); but he omits the actual conferring of the name.

Again, he gives the promise of the Holy Eucharist (Jn. 6), but not the fulfillment at the Last Supper. And so in the case before us St. John is content to quote and explain a quite different saying of our Lord: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up" (Jn. 2:19).

Enough, then, of the prophecy. When we come to consider its fulfillment, it is worth while to note that for an apologetic proof it is not strictly necessary to reconcile the different accounts. To prove Christ's mission from God, it is only necessary to prove the Resurrection as a historical fact; and for a valid historical proof it is not essential that there should be no discrepancy in details. On the contrary, some such discrepancy is usually looked upon as rather a good sign by historians, as tending to show that the accounts are independent, and have not been artificially harmonized. The main fact stands out all the more clearly and convincingly. In regard of the Resurrection, therefore, the possible reconciliation of the New Testament accounts is an ulterior issue, not strictly germane to the proof of the Resurrection as a historical fact.

Once it has been proved that Christ was sent by God, and that He founded an infallible Church, account must be taken of the Church's teaching in regard of the inspiration and inerrancy of Holy Scripture. We conclude that because there can be no formal error in any of the New Testament accounts, there can be no mutual contradiction among them. But once more, it does not follow that it need be evident to merely natural reason that there is no such contradiction. Almighty God through His infallible Church or through His Scriptures may let us know truths even of the natural order which we should not know otherwise, or at all events which we should not know for certain; and doubtless anyone familiar with Holy Scripture would hesitate to say that even apart from the Church's teaching he would be quite certain that there was no formal error therein. It is not necessary therefore, so far as dogmatic reasons go, to say that it is perfectly certain, even apart from the Catholic doctrine of inerrancy, that there is no discrepancy in the Resurrection accounts. If an unbeliever were convinced that there were such a discrepancy, that of itself ought not to prevent him from accepting as historical the fact of the Resurrection; it might well make it all the easier for him so to accept it. If we admit that it might seem

likely that there was such a discrepancy, we are not really weakening the case for the main historical fact. We can explain that we know on other grounds—grounds of faith—that there is really no mutual contradiction in the narrative.

Still, this does mean that we admit our belief that no formal contradiction is to be found; and this position needs to be defended. Professor Schmiedel, for example, wrote in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*:¹

For our most authentic information on the subject of the resurrection of Jesus we naturally look to the Gospels; these, however, exhibit contradictions of the most glaring kind. Reimarus, whose work was published by Lessing as *Wolfenbütteler Fragmente*, enumerated ten contradictions; but in reality their number is much greater.

Reimarus was the wiser man; Schmiedel overstates his case so badly as hardly to be plausible. His objections, however, will be taken into account. If anyone claim in this way that the accounts of the apparitions can be *proved* to be inconsistent, then it is certainly our business to produce an arrangement of the apparitions which cannot be proved false. This for the defence, not of our historical proof of the fact of the Resurrection, but of our dogmatic position in regard of inspiration and inerrancy. Still, when everything is said and done, even the historical proof is the stronger if it is shown that we need suppose no mutual contradictions between the gospels; that the reconciliation is not easy or obvious may, it is true, strengthen the historical proof.

Before we address ourselves directly to the relevant texts, it will be well to consider certain traits in the several gospels which must be borne in mind in the examination of the evidence. And in the first place, it is important to be clear about the conclusion (or conclusions) of Mark. This is not the place for a full treatment of the question, but the main points may be briefly explained. The best summary and discussion of the evidence in English are probably still those to be found in the long note upon Mk. 16:9-20 in the large edition of *The New Testament in the original Greek*, by Westcott and Hort (MacMillan, 1882), vol. 2, appendix, pp. 28-51. The chapter of the Introduction on "Alternative Endings of the Gospel" in Swete's *Gospel according to St. Mark* (MacMillan, ed. 2, 1908) is also valuable. A full *apparatus criticus* may be found in the edition of St. Mark's

¹ Vol. iv, columns 4040-1 (London: A. and C. Black, 1903).

gospel in the Westcott-Hort text which the Clarendon Press has recently begun to publish, precisely for the purpose of providing an *apparatus criticus* of the New Testament fully up to date. This, the first part, has been edited by Mr. S. C. E. Legg, M.A. (*Novum Testamentum Graece: evangelium secundum Marcum*, 1935).

There are three main possibilities to be considered. The first is that the text of the gospel ended originally with Mk. 16:8. The second is that it ended with Mk. 16:20, as it is made to do in the Latin Vulgate. The third is that instead of Mk. 16:9-20, which is often called "the Long Conclusion," we should read what is known as "the Short Conclusion," an alternative ending of 33 words found in certain manuscripts.

To speak of this short conclusion first. It occurs in four uncial manuscripts, the text of which is printed out in Swete; it may be enough to mention that all four give both conclusions, but the short one first. There is some other supporting evidence, but the only authority which gives the short conclusion alone is the Old Latin *Codex Bobiensis* (4th or 5th century: k); it may be of interest to reproduce the short conclusion from it, but without any technicalities:

omnia autem quaecumque praecepta erant et qui cum puero erant breviter exposuerunt post haec et ipse Hiesus adparuit et ab oriente usque in orientem misit per illos sanctam et incorruptam (praedicationem) salutis aeternae. Amen.

It may be remarked that *puero* here is an obvious slip for *Petro*, and that the second "east" is put for "west." It is also clear that *praedicationem* is to be supplied from the foot of the page. In regard of the short conclusion two main facts should be noticed. In the first place, it is an agreed point among all scholars that it cannot possibly be the true conclusion. The manuscripts from which three of the uncials were copied evidently did not themselves give the short conclusion. The best known of these, it may be mentioned, is the *Codex Regius* (L: 8th cent.); the other two are mere fragments. The fourth uncial (*Codex Athous Laurae*: 8th or 9th cent.) seems to have been copied from a manuscript (or from manuscripts) which only had the short conclusion; but this fact is outweighed by the overwhelming evidence on the other side. And the internal evidence is also against the short conclusion: "the sacred and immortal

preaching of everlasting salvation" are words especially unlike anything that we find in the canonical gospels.

The other point to be noticed is that all evidence for the short conclusion tells against the long conclusion. If the gospel was already being read with the long conclusion, so that this was already familiar, the short conclusion would never have been written.

With that I leave the short conclusion, since it is not my purpose to give more than a brief outline of the general state of the question, and I come to the long conclusion, the evidence against which is also formidable. In the first place, it is omitted by the two best manuscripts, the Vatican and Sinaitic codices. The Vatican MS. (B) leaves more than a column vacant after Mk. 16:8, beginning St. Luke's gospel on the next page. This makes it practically certain that the scribe *knew* the long ending, for he begins both St. Mark's gospel itself and St. John's on the last column of a page, so that without some special reason he would have begun St. Luke's gospel there too. He could not bring himself to insert the long conclusion, yet made it possible for a later scribe to do so if he would; though as a matter of fact the rest of the page would not suffice for it in a hand as large as his own.

The Sinaitic MS. (the usual sign for which is the Hebrew letter *Aleph*, but I spare the printers) also omits the long conclusion. One wonders whether the unusual decoration after Mk. 16:8 is meant to salve the scribe's conscience—but this is mere speculation. The evidence of the Old Latin *Codex Bobiensis* has already been given; the Syriac Sinaitic MS. also omits the long conclusion. That must suffice for the direct evidence of omission; but it should be noticed that Eusebius, a careful and scholarly student of such matters, must also be reckoned a strong witness for omission. He is dealing with a part of the problem which is the subject of this article; he is seeking, that is, to reconcile the story of the apparitions in St. Mark's gospel with that in St. Matthew's. The first solution which he offers his correspondent is to reject the long conclusion altogether, the second is to reckon with it; but whereas the second solution is based on a fear of rejecting what is "in any way current in the Scripture of the Gospels," the first is based on the manuscripts. Eusebius tells us that "the accurate copies," and also that "almost all the copies" ended the gospels with Mk. 16:8. His treatment

of the question occurs in his answers to the questions of Marinus, and is best consulted in the Westcott-Hort apparatus.

The long conclusion must now be considered briefly from the point of view of the internal evidence. Westcott and Hort (pp. 46-49) reject both conclusions, but they also think it incredible that the gospel should have ended with Mk. 16:8; the paragraph itself in their view cannot have ended so abruptly, nor can the gospel itself have been concluded "with a petty detail of a secondary event, leaving the narrative hanging in the air." They therefore conclude that either the gospel was never finished, or that the original conclusion was very early lost.

The short conclusion supplied both wants; the author, whoever he was, perceived the need both of finishing the sentence and of providing a more dignified ending to the gospel as a whole. The long conclusion provides a fitting ending to the gospel, but not to the sentence; nor yet does it fit on to the preceding narrative, for Mary Magdalene is mentioned by herself, with a special note of identification, as though she had not been introduced upon the scene before. The long conclusion therefore looks more like an independent summary of the apparitions, based partly upon the gospels of St. John and St. Luke.

It will be well at this stage to remind ourselves of the relevant answer of the Biblical Commission, which is the second of those issued in regard of the gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke (June 26, 1912). The question is whether the arguments brought forward to show that the long conclusion is not by St. Mark (1) give the right to say that it is not inspired and canonical: or at least (2) prove that Mark was not its author. The answer to both parts is in the negative. As regards the first part, I think I may say that even before the answer of the Commission it was clear that one could not deny that the long conclusion was both inspired and canonical. The Council of Trent, in an anathema which was repeated by the Vatican Council,² defined that all the books of the Holy Writ, with all their parts, as contained in the Latin Vulgate, must be accepted as sacred and canonical; and there can be no serious doubt, either that the long conclusion has always been contained in the Latin Vulgate,

² *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, etc., ed. 14-15: ed. Denzinger-Bannwart-Umberg: Nos. 784, 1787, 1809.

or that a passage of this length must be regarded as a "part" within the meaning of the decrees.

It may be noted also that the fact that it is canonical Scripture means that it must have been written before the end of the apostolic age. This does not follow from the mere fact that it is inspired, for there is nothing to show that God cannot inspire a piece of writing at any time He chooses: that is to say, He has never revealed that He does not intend to do so. But in the case of canonical Scripture the inspiration of the book, or part of a book, must form part of the deposit of faith: and the deposit of faith was closed with the end of the apostolic age. This last point is included by implication in the anti-modernist decree *Lamentabili* of Pope Pius X³.

Westcott and Hort, it may be remarked, conclude (p. 51) that the long conclusion "manifestly cannot claim any apostolic authority; but it is doubtless founded on some tradition of the apostolic age." What precisely they mean by saying that it cannot claim any apostolic authority is not quite clear, since nobody would pretend in any case that an apostle wrote it; but if the tradition went back to the apostolic age, there should be no great difficulty in supposing that it came to be written down in the apostolic age. Swete is satisfied that it "must have been very generally accepted as the work of St. Mark soon after the middle of the second century, if not indeed at any earlier time" (p. cix); he is chiefly moved to this view by the fact that St. Irenaeus quotes it explicitly as part of the gospel of St. Mark (*Heresies*, iii. 10. 6).

We may now turn to the second part of the answer of the Biblical Commission: it is not proved that Mark was not the author of these verses. The Commission chooses its words with great care, and we are justified in scrutinizing them carefully. It puts the matter negatively; it does not say (as it does in several other cases) that the authorship *is* proved, but that it is *not* proved that St. Mark is *not* the author of the long conclusion. It is not therefore contrary to the decree of the Commission to claim that it still remains *likely*, or even more likely, that St. Mark is not the author; to claim this still falls far short of claiming that it is proved. It is even more important for our present purpose to observe that it is not said that St. Mark wrote

³ *Ibid.*, No. 2021.

the long conclusion continuously with the gospel, and precisely as its conclusion; there is nothing to prevent us from holding that if he wrote it, he wrote it separately later on.

For my own part I lean to the view that the original gospel really ended with Mk. 16:8. In this I frankly confess that I am running counter to the opinion of Westcott and Hort, but they were not specialists on the several styles of the New Testament writers, which have been examined much more minutely since their time. I do not think that the ending of the sentence is too abrupt for St. Mark, whose style is at times very harsh. It may be enough here to appeal to the late Sir John Hawkins' *Horae Synopticae* (Oxford: 1909, ed. 2), in which he devotes a whole section (pp. 131-8) to "rude, harsh, obscure or unusual words or expressions" in St. Mark's gospel, "which may therefore have been omitted or replaced by others." These latter words in the title of the section are to be explained by the fact that Sir John's book is concerned with the Synoptic Problem, and he is discussing the gospel as a possible source for the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. If anyone will study the section carefully, he should not feel much difficulty about Mark 16:8 as a possible Marcan sentence. I cannot stop to quote many examples, but am tempted to select Mk. 11:32, because the same verb is there used as in Mk. 16:8: "But are we to say, 'of men'? They feared the multitude."

It may be as well to remind the reader that St. Mark would not dispose of all the helps of punctuation and so forth by which we moderns can bring out the sense, and that therefore his manuscript would read much more abruptly.

There is another reason why it seems likely that the original gospel ended with Mk. 16:8, which is that the common synoptic source appears to have ended there. This is an argument which perhaps calls for some familiarity with the Synoptic Problem in the reader if it is to be seen in all its force, but it does not postulate any particular solution of that problem. St. Mark's gospel is generally recognized to have reproduced the common synoptic source most closely, even by those who (with the Biblical Commission) deny that his gospel was the common source itself; and it would be contrary to what we should expect that he should make this notable addition himself after he had come to the end of the common source. Or to put the matter another way,

to suit those who would take up a different position: if St. Mark's gospel went straight on, we should not expect the parallels to it in the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke to come to an abrupt end. It may of course be said that the parallels come to an end because the end of St. Mark's gospel was already lost. In answer to this it may be said that such a loss of the end of the gospel is a gratuitous supposition, only put forward by Westcott and Hort because they take it for granted that the gospel could not end with Mk. 16:8; also, that the supposition that St. Matthew and St. Luke would draw upon St. Mark's gospel itself rather than upon a common source is likewise a gratuitous supposition, as I have tried to show elsewhere.⁴

It may seem surprising that the common source should not have included the apparitions of the risen Christ to the apostles; the explanation may be, that the apostles themselves were to be the living witnesses of the resurrection. This fact is often insisted on in the New Testament (Acts 1:22; 2:32; 3:15; etc.). Men were to believe in the apostles first as being reliable witnesses of that historical fact, and in this way come to believe in their possessing a divine mission.

I have dealt at some length—at greater length than I had intended—with this question of the conclusion of St. Mark's gospel, because it is of considerable importance in working out the Resurrection-apparitions. I propose to proceed on the working hypothesis that the gospel was intended to finish at Mk. 16:8, and that the long conclusion is an independent summary of apparitions. I am not concerned to deny its Marcan authorship, and indeed have no difficulty in agreeing with the Biblical Commission that this cannot be disproved. It seems worth while to take account also of the short conclusion, as being a very early fragment; but it appears correct to say that it is neither canonical Scripture nor very important.

We may turn now to the end of St. John's gospel, which may fairly safely be said to have finished originally with the end of chap. 20, the last two verses of which were clearly intended to conclude the gospel. It may also be noticed that St. Thomas'

⁴ See the appendix on the Synoptic Problem in Vol. I of the Westminster Version; and the lecture on the Synoptic Gospels in *The New Testament*, the Cambridge Summer School book for 1937 (Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1938).

confession of faith in Christ's Godhead matches the evangelist's own assertion of the doctrine in his prologue. Nor is it difficult to judge from the internal evidence why another chapter was added; the aged apostle wished to correct a mistaken belief that he would not die, and to turn the Christians' attention rather to the see of Peter. This is so obvious that an all too ingenious scholar, the late B. W. Bacon, in his large work, *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate* (Oxford, 1918), writes triumphantly in regard of this last chapter (p.219):

But the surest method for dating this supremely important document is to put the question, At what period, under what circumstances, was it essential to the acceptance of the Gospel referred to and commended in John 21:24 to be thus introduced? To this question we can find but one answer: At Rome, about 150 A.D.

For one who does not suffer so acutely from the higher critical complex, it is also possible to find another answer, *viz.*, that the gospel never really needed such an introduction. One almost gets the impression that in Bacon's view John 21 is the first (and surely the most brilliantly successful!) of the Roman forgeries; but upon closer attention it turns out that Rome itself was imposed upon, by means (among other things) of "generous concessions to the claims of the see of Peter" (p. 221). This view of the inward significance of the chapter certainly deserves the attention of those who still seriously claim to accept the Bible as the word of God! But the true view of Jn. 21:24 is that it is not an independent commendation of the gospel. The late Abbot Chapman showed this well in a study of the verse in the *Journal of Theological Studies* entitled, "We know that his testimony is true" (July, 1930: vol. 31, pp. 379-387). It may be enough to give a summary of his conclusions:

1. St. John uses "we" and plural verbs for the sake of solemnity, and always does so when speaking of his "witness": *cf.* 1 Jn. 1:2; 4:14; 3 Jn. 12. He even represents our Lord as doing the same, when He refers to His "witness": *cf.* Jn. 3:11.

2. He does not mind using singular and plural verbs with the same reference in successive verses and even in the same verse: *cf.* Jn. 3:11; 3 Jn. 9-10.

"Our inference," writes Abbot Chapman, "is quite certain," and he paraphrases Jn. 21:24 as follows:

This person is the Apostle who is the witness of these things and is the writer of this book, and I, even I (whose high place among the

Apostles has been described in it) know that it is all perfectly accurate; I have no doubt about my memory, else I should not have written this down at my advanced age.

We may conclude, then, that St. John added this chapter to his gospel at a later time, when it was already complete. It was doubtless the very last addition; but it seems likely that the gospel came to be in its present state by a process of additions and omissions, having started as something like the other three. At what stage St. John first began to write it we cannot say; but it seems unlikely that he would not have had some record written by himself from early times. Thus, it seems likely that the prologue (like many prefaces) was written after the rest, as a theological summary of the inward meaning of the gospel; it is significant, for example, that in what follows Christ never calls Himself the *Logos* ("word"). Again, the best explanation of the rather puzzling "Arise, let us go" in Jn. 14:31 is that it marks the original end of the Last Supper, and that John 15-17 are a later amplification of the report of our Lord's discourse (by which, of course, I do not mean to deny that they contain an accurate report of what He really said). We can then regard the words as corresponding verbally and harmonically, though not historically, to Mt. 26:46; Mk. 14:42. I mean, "Arise, let us go," are words that our Lord may well have spoken on both occasions, but the common narrative seems to have reported them as spoken after the agony in the garden, and St. John seems to have transferred them (out of his own knowledge) to the Last Supper.

Jn. 15-17 would thus serve as an example of a large addition. To me it seems likely that Jn. 6:1 points to the omission of much preceding matter such as we actually find in the synoptic gospels. In the preceding chapter our Lord is in Jerusalem, but now He is suddenly made to cross the Lake of Galilee. In his final revision of his gospel St. John does not repeat synoptic matter without some special reason; here it is obvious that he is repeating the story of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes for the sake of the discourse on the Holy Eucharist, for which that miracle prepares the way, and which indeed (like the manna) it typifies. St. John therefore kept the story, but was not at pains to link it up with what now preceded it.

In the case of St. John's gospel, as in that of St. Mark's, it has seemed best to consider at some length the end of the gospel, in

order to secure the right premises for working out the main argument. We may conclude that what is now the last chapter of the gospel was inserted at a later time for a special purpose, and that it was not merely part of an ordered series of apparitions. This conclusion makes it more certain than ever that Jn. 21:14 must not be interpreted to mean that St. John is giving *the* third apparition of our Lord. "Thus was Jesus manifested now *a third time* to the disciples," as the Westminster Version puts it: it is the third apparition recorded *in that gospel*, but it is not implied that it is the third of all the apparitions vouchsafed to the apostles, whether recorded in the fourth gospel or no.

We pass now to St. Luke's gospel, and notice at once the stress which St. Luke lays upon the Ascension. Apart from the long conclusion to St. Mark's gospel, already discussed, he is the only evangelist to relate it. It is a rather striking fact that even the writer of the short conclusion, whoever he was, saw no reason to mention it. But in St. Luke's gospel it forms the connecting link with his Acts; the Ascension is the conclusion of the former, the beginning of the latter. It is the final end of Christ's human life upon earth, but the opening of the life of the Church upon earth without His presence in His natural Body. St. Luke tells the story of the disciples going to Emmaus at some length, and must have found it congenial to do so; but he does not linger on the rest of the story, and if we had only his gospel, we might have been tempted to think that the Ascension took place on the same day as the Resurrection. The Acts, however, tell us that for forty days He was giving His apostles proofs of His Resurrection, after which comes a much fuller account of the Ascension. Thus St. Luke lays much emphasis on the Ascension, which of course presupposed the Resurrection; but he makes it plain in both his works that even apart from this he regards the Resurrection as fully proved.

St. Matthew's gospel does not call for any introductory comment, so that we can now come to the gospel incidents in order.

THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

It must be remembered that the Jewish day ran from sunset to sunset. This is too well known to call for proof; but it may be worth while to refer to Mk. 1:32 (with parallels); at sunset the people could bring their sick to our Lord without danger of

violating the sabbath. Hence the mere fact that the sabbath was over, and that the first day of the week had begun, was not a sufficient indication of time, and all the evangelists add something further to make it plain that the women came very early on the Sunday morning, while it was yet dark. The only passage that has caused some difficulty is Mt. 28:1. The Westminster Version here translates, "after the sabbath," and the note justifies this by references to Lagrange and to Strack and Billerbeck, *ad loc.*; it is also borne out by Blass' *Grammar of New Testament Greek* and the *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, illustrated from the papyri and other non-literary sources*, by Moulton and Milligan.

Like the other evangelists, St. Matthew not only indicates the day, but also mentions that it was very early on that day; such seems to be the correct meaning of the words which he adds. We may translate, "at the hour which was dawning into the first day of the week"; this is a literal rendering, but "hour" is understood. As we know also from the other evangelists, the day was just beginning to dawn; St. John says that it was still dark. So far as the Greek goes, it would be possible to understand "day" instead of "hour," and to render, "on the day which was dawning into the first day of the week." It should be noticed in passing that "day" must in any case be understood in "the first day," where the Greek merely has "the first," but the sense is quite certain. The main objection to understanding "day" with "dawning" is that St. Matthew would merely be repeating in other words what he had already said, instead of giving the time of the day, like the other evangelists.

The difficulty about the number of the women is well known: St. John gives one, St. Matthew gives two, St. Mark gives three, St. Luke gives several. Moreover St. Matthew and St. Mark mention only one angel, whereas St. Luke and St. John speak of two. The words of the angels in the synoptic gospels are the last that can be traced to the common source; in the first two gospels there is a good deal of common matter, and just enough in the third to prevent our thinking him quite independent. Hence we may conclude that not only St. Matthew, but also St. Mark, has added something to the common source, which probably did not mention Salome. St. John and St. Luke both lead us to suppose that the holy women came singly rather than in groups, the

former because he mentions St. Mary Magdalene alone of all the women, the latter because he adds largely to St. Mark's three. Yet both of these evangelists suppose that all the women were to some degree in contact with one another; for in Jn. 20:2 St. Mary Magdalene speaks of "we" in the plural, and in Lk. 24:10 *all* the women report to the apostles.

St. John, then, is interested only in St. Mary Magdalene; we may suppose either that she was a little ahead of the other women, or that she rushed away as soon as she realized that our Lord's body was not in the tomb. If she was ahead of the others, it is just possible that no angel was there for her to see; in either case it is possible that she was so preoccupied with thought for our Lord Himself that she did not notice any angel. Even when she did see the two angels later (Jn. 20:12-13), they do not seem to have made much impression on her! In the light of her words to St. Peter and St. John, we can hardly suppose that she had already heard the explanations of any angel. So far, then, we have accounted for Jn. 20:1-2 and Mk. 16:9-10; we may include these last two verses on the hypothesis that the long conclusion begins anew the series of apparitions, as has been explained.

St. Mary Magdalene, then, quickly disappears from the scene; why then do the Synoptists leave us under the impression that she remains with the other holy women? The best answer appears to be, that this is a form of summarizing; the full story of her movements was too complicated to be included in their brief summaries, and as a matter of fact she did have an angelic vision of her own. Just as I have applied the word "compenetration" to a now more generally recognized form of messianic prophecy, in which the prophet passes from type to antitype by way of certain features common to both,⁵ so I judge it necessary to apply a principle of "compenetration" to gospel harmony; where two similar events have happened, details of both may be included under a single mention, by way of briefly summarizing. Thus St. Luke (4: 16-31) appears to be including under a visit to

⁵ What I had already been teaching on this subject was embodied and expanded by Father Robert Hull, S.J., my disciple and later my colleague, in an essay entitled *Compenetration in Prophecy*, subsequently embodied in *Medieval Theories of the Papacy and other essays*, a posthumous volume of his writings edited by Father E. F. Sutcliffe, S.J. (Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1934).

Nazareth not only the early visit implied in Matt. 4:13 (*cf.* Jn. 2:12), but also the later visit of Mt. 13:54-58; Mk. 6:1-6. And in the brief gospel harmony at the end of Vol. 1 of the Westminster Version (New Testament) it will be seen that Mt. 4:12 and Mt. 8:5a are both given two places, because of this "compenetration": two returns to Galilee are involved, and two entries into Capharnaum. I had better not stop to discuss these examples at length: they will be understood by anybody who will work out the gospel harmony a little carefully in the light of the Westminster Version arrangement. The application to St. Mary Magdalene is obvious, and involves what is essentially the same principle of compenetration: she comes to the tomb twice, she looks in twice, angels speak twice. It was not necessary for the other evangelists to be as detailed in their story as St. John, but as summaries their narratives are true.

Along with St. Mary Magdalene, St. Matthew mentions only "the other Mary," called by St. Mark "the mother of James"; St. Mark adds Salome. This "other Mary" I should prefer to regard as the wife of Klopas (*cf.* Jn. 19:25); this Klopas according to Hegesippus, a good authority, was St. Joseph's brother (*cf.* Eusebius, *Church History*, Bk. III, chap. 11), so that "the brethren of the Lord" would be so regarded on account of this relationship. This would leave us free to equate Salome, the wife of Zebedee, with our Lady's sister, and thus to make the sons of Zebedee our Lord's first cousins by their respective mothers. This is the view which appeals most to me personally, and it is convenient for the purpose of this discussion to make it clear; but I intend no disrespect to other Catholic opinions.

This "other Mary" then, and probably Salome, may have had an earlier vision to themselves, in which only one angel appeared; on the other hand, in their excitement and in what may have been a very bright light, they may not have noticed the second angel. In any case, other women (as implied in Lk. 24:10; Jn. 20:2) now come up, and they see the two angels. It will be noticed that St. Luke writes that "two men stood by them"; another possibility therefore is that these two angels are quite distinct from any inside the tomb, an explanation which would leave us free to suppose only one angel in the first two gospels, though we should still have to allow two for St. Mary Magdalene.

The holy women, then, have had their vision, and follow St. Mary Magdalene in order to report to the apostles. It is clear from Lk. 24:22-24 that they have already arrived before St. Peter and St. John run to the tomb; and it is after the return of these two that the two disciples set out for Emmaus.

Let us now return to St. Mark's gospel. Supposing that all these holy women, with St. Mary Magdalene in front of them, are hurrying in great excitement to the apostles, and that they dare not speak a word to anybody on the way: then we have Mk. 16:8 explained. Whether we suppose this verse to have been from the first the real ending to the gospel, or whether we suppose the original conclusion to have fallen out, in either case the original gospel has nothing further to tell us, and we have to look elsewhere in order to continue the story.

St. Matthew (28:8) agrees with St. Mark (16:8) in speaking of the "fear" of the holy women, but he alone relates that to their "fear" was added "great joy." This may serve to remind us that in Holy Scripture religious "fear" is not of itself incompatible with religious "joy"; the former is a strong feeling of awe rather than terror. It may be enough to illustrate this from Psalm 2:11, where the Westminster Version has "Serve ye Jehovah with fear, and rejoice with trembling."

But St. Matthew's gospel presents a far more serious difficulty than this, perhaps indeed, the most serious difficulty of all in arranging the apparitions; for Christ is said to have appeared to the holy women, and to have given them a message for "my brethren" (Mt. 28:9-10). In order to understand this episode, it will be best to return to the beginning of the Matthaean resurrection story and to follow it up to this point. St. Matthew only mentions two women, Mary Magdalene and "the other Mary," who (as has been said) appears to have been the wife of Klopas and the mother of "the brethren of the Lord." These two see the one angel, and then run with fear and joy to report to the apostles, and Christ is said to meet them on their way. If we had nothing but St. Matthew's narrative, we should regard it as quite straightforward and simple; but in the light of the other accounts we must be content to say that it uses rather summary methods of "compenetration."

Let us begin, then, with "the other Mary"; and we may presume that, like St. Mary Magdalene in the Johannine account

(cf. Jn. 20:2), she has companions who are not explicitly mentioned. They report to the apostles, as we have seen; but it would be natural for them to return to the tomb once more, following St. Peter and St. John and St. Mary Magdalene. St. John tells us that he and St. Peter both ran, but that he himself ran the faster; he does not tell us how St. Mary Magdalene made her way thither, but we may presume that she was not left far behind, as she had already run to tell them. The rest of the women would arrive later, and return at their leisure, but might have their vision on this second return. This would be the "compenetration" in the story; St. Matthew had no need to distinguish the two returns of the women, and therefore may have brought under his one story of a return details that historically belonged to two returns.

If this view be adopted, two hypotheses become possible in regard to the Magdalene; she may or may not have shared the apparition granted to the holy women on their second return. She may have had her own particular apparition first, as recorded in Jn. 20:11-18 and Mk. 16:9; after which she may have joined the other holy women, and have shared in the apparition granted them on their second return. But it also seems possible that here too St. Matthew may not have felt it necessary to put in all the details of her experiences; knowing that she had had an apparition of her own about the same time, he may not have felt it necessary to explain that, strictly speaking, she was not yet at that moment returning from the tomb. If this hypothesis seem reasonably possible, then the Magdalene may have had her own special apparition after the rest of the holy women had left, instead of before. If we regard all this as legitimate summarizing, the explanation offered does not appear to do any violence to the doctrine of biblical inerrancy.

At this stage it may help to make matters clearer if we work out rather more fully and explicitly the reports made by the holy women to the apostles. In the *first* place we note that Mk. 16:8 does not get as far as a report. *Secondly*, it may be remarked that the short conclusion to Mark, which is obviously intended to carry on the narrative from Mk. 16:8 (which the long conclusion does not seem intended to do), sums up the reporting of the holy women so briefly that it does not really help. A Latin version of the first sentence of the short conclusion, which

sentence alone is here in question, has already been given; but I translate from the Greek text, the best form of which seems beyond serious question: "And they reported summarily all ordered them to those about Peter." Or, to translate more freely, so as to bring out the sense: "they reported all they were charged to report," meaning chiefly no doubt the message of Mk. 16:7. *Thirdly*, St. Mary Magdalene runs in first, to tell Peter and John (Jn. 20:2). Her arrival is also included in the next item. *Fourthly*, the rest of the holy women arrive (Lk. 24:9-11). This arrival is also indicated in Mt. 28:8; but in the explanation offered above, this arrival "compenetrates" with the second arrival. As a matter of fact, strictly speaking, no actual arrival of the holy women is recorded in St. Matthew's gospel; but we may take it to be strongly implied in Mt. 28:8.

Fifthly, and coming now to the second arrival, we have St. Mary Magdalene's report after her own special apparition in Jn. 20:18. This is included in the next item. *Sixthly*, "the other Mary" arrives, either in the actual company of St. Mary Magdalene, or soon before or after her. We may also suppose that other holy women were with her. This arrival seems to explain best Mt. 28:8, as has already been said, upon a basis of "compenetration"; it covers Mt. 28:8-10.

We have now finished with the holy women, and come to the apostles and disciples. It has a certain symbolic significance for the history of the Church that Christ chose to use the holy women in this way, compensating them, we may say, for their lack of juridical authority by more personal privileges and messages, and recognizing their love and devotion by first of all satisfying it.

We come now to the disciples who went to Emmaus. In the Westminster Version (see especially Lk. 24:13, note) Père Abel's view is followed that the important Maccabaeian town of this name is meant, 160 furlongs from Jerusalem, and that mounts might be used for the return journey. The remark, "evening approacheth and already the day declineth," would certainly be satisfied by a time as late as 4 P.M., and perhaps by 3 P.M. When the two disciples left (as has been mentioned above), Peter and John had returned from the tomb, having verified the absence of our Lord's Body, but the Magdalene had not yet made her *second* return, and there is no mention of any claim either on

her part or on that of any other holy women to have seen our Lord Himself. When the two disciples return from Emmaus, the one important fact with which they are confronted is that "the Lord hath truly risen and hath appeared to Simon" (Lk. 24:34). This apparition is doubtless that of 1 Cor. 15:5. A long interval of time is available for it, and there is no need to put it immediately after the return of St. Peter and St. John from the tomb, or to connect it with Peter's return home in Lk. 24:12.

This verse (Lk. 24:12) is one of those at the end of St. Luke's gospel which Westcott and Hort regard as "Western non-interpolations"; it is absent from the *Codex Bezae* and some of the Old Latin manuscripts—manuscripts, that is, which show much of the pre-Jerome text. But the *Codex Bezae* is as eccentric in its omissions as in its additions, and cannot be taken as a safe guide in either; Westcott and Hort leaned too heavily to omission. The Old Latin manuscripts may have been influenced by some such manuscript; there is much connection between the Old Latin readings and the Old Syriac (i.e., pre-Peshitta, the Peshitta being the Syriac Vulgate), and the obvious common centre and source for the two is Antioch, the chief Church of the East. Alexandria stood rather apart, though a more scholarly Church with a better text. The term "Western" is a misnomer, precisely because it must include the old Syriac readings.

This much may be worth saying in defence of Lk. 24:12, which there is no good reason for condemning. At this stage we also note Mk. 16:12-13, which verses evidently refer to the Emmaus disciples, and mention that they were not believed. The long conclusion, in fact, emphasizes this lack of belief; the Magdalene and the Emmaus disciples are both disbelieved, and Christ Himself rebukes the eleven apostles for this disbelief. But St. Luke likewise mentions disbelief among "the Eleven and those with them" (Lk. 24:33, 41), and St. Matthew mentions it among "the Eleven" in Galilee (Mt. 28:17). The recognition of such doubts is a mark of historical trustworthiness; there is no attempt to glorify the apostles in this matter, any more than in others.

It seems right to identify the apparition in Lk. 26:36-43 with that in Jn. 20:19-25; St. John expressly mentions that it took place late on the same day, and this is obviously the time of day required in St. Luke's narrative. There is also the common

feature that in Lk. 24:40 our Lord shows His hands and feet (for the textual evidence is overwhelming in favor of this verse) and in Jn. 20:20 His hands and side; the natural (though not certain) conclusion is that there were wounds in hands and feet and side alike. This apparition would be that of Mk. 16:14, and likewise of 1 Cor. 15:5; there was no need to mention the presence of others with the apostles, any more than it was necessary to mention the absence of Thomas. In Jn. 20:24-29 we read the story of the later apparition to the apostles when Thomas was among them, and his explicit confession of Christ's Divinity, originally (as has been said) doubtless intended to conclude the gospel. With this second apparition it would be possible to equate 1 Cor. 15:5, but not Mk. 16:14, because of the rebuke contained in it; the apostles are blamed for not believing others.

This second apparition seems still to belong to Jerusalem: the scene now moves to Galilee, whither the apostles had been told through the holy women to betake themselves. On account of the Thomas-apparition in St. John's gospel, just mentioned, we may suppose a week to have elapsed before they depart from Jerusalem. It is in Galilee that the solemn commission is to be given, that they are to "make disciples of all the nations"; with this section in Matthew (28:16-20) it seems right to equate Mark 16:15-18. The other Galilaean apparition is that of St. John's last chapter, of which something has been said already; it may be enough to repeat here that the "third time" in Jn. 21:14 refers merely to the two apparitions to the apostles in the preceding chapter. We do not know exactly when this third Johannean apparition took place, nor its precise place in the whole series of apparitions.

Of the remaining apparitions in 1 Corinthians it is impossible to speak with certainty. It seems unlikely that the apparition to "more than five hundred brethren" (1 Cor. 15:6) was that of the solemn commission in Matthew and Mark, which seems rather to have been limited to the apostles. Of the apparition to James we know nothing; evidently he is "James the brother of the Lord" (Gal. 1:19), whom alone St. Paul ever mentions. The apparition to "all the apostles" may be that of the Ascension, upon which there is no need here to dwell in detail; St. Paul makes an interesting allusion to it in Ephes. 4:8-10.

C. LATTEY, S.J.

BISHOP CHALLONER'S REVISION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

The revision of our Old Testament in English, now an active project of the Catholic Biblical Association, brings to mind once more the work of Bishop Challoner. For the text upon which we are seeking to improve came from his pen. We have every reason to wonder at his courage while we admire his indefatigable zeal; for it was no little matter for one man to produce a version of the Scriptures in the short time that he devoted to his revision. But the fact that we are putting our hand to the same task, and for practically the same reasons, justifies us in taking another and a closer look at his text and at the methods which brought it into being. Challoner's text, in fact, is the starting point of our revision. There should be, therefore, some advantage to us in knowing its character, and perhaps also some guidance in examining the principles upon which it is based.

I

In this study of Challoner's Old Testament we have a better opportunity of estimating the quality of his work than we have when reading his New Testament. It is known that he revised the New Testament three times, if not four; and thereafter many other hands were at work on it, each helping to cover over the mark of the original workman. His Old Testament is his own, and was done but once. Later editors, however much they may have disagreed with its readings, have done little to modify it. Except for the slight alterations of the Hay and Troy Bibles, it stands today just about as he left it.¹ Cardinal Newman called

¹ Our current editions fail to acknowledge this debt to Challoner. At most they credit him with the notes, which are his only in part. The following table, giving all the variations from Challoner in two of the older and two of the more recent editions, in the first chapter of each of five Minor Prophets, will illustrate how little his version has changed:

		Challoner	Hay (1761)	Troy (1791)	Brepols	Murphy
Jonas	1:6	ship-master	ship-master	ship-master	shipmaster	shipmaster
Mich.	1:7	to destruction	to nought	to destruction	to nought	to destruction
	1:8	stript	stript	stript	stripped	stripped
	1:10	house of dust	dust of dust	of Dust	of Dust	of Dust
Nahum	1	(Identical in all editions!)				
Hab.	1:17	never	never	not	not	not
Soph.	1:18	riddance	riddance	destruction	destruction	destruction

Observe also the trivial character of the modifications. There is a similar comparison in Newman, *Tracts Theological and Ecclesiastical* (London: Burns and Oates), pp. 413-19.

attention to this when he termed Challoner's revision of the Old Testament "final."² This all means that some 190 years have passed without anyone being found hardy enough to repeat Challoner's labors, and that we have been content to accept his version as the text read by all English-speaking Catholics. Further interest is added to this work of Challoner when we recall that it alone intervenes between the original Douay, of 1609-10, and the editions now being printed.

We may further appreciate this text if we consider the revisor in relation to the immense task to which he turned his hand. Bishop Challoner had been trained at Douay, and he must have been well grounded in both Latin and Greek. There is, however, nothing to show that he had any competency in Hebrew. Further, with all his literary activity, he could not boast of unusual endowments in the matter of English expression. On the other hand, the work which he took up was filled with technical difficulties, those complex difficulties peculiar to biblical interpretation. We may wonder, therefore, whether he considered himself fully equipped for such a task, or whether he approached it with complete confidence. It would seem, however, that if he himself entertained any of these doubts they were overcome by his intense personal devotion to the Scriptures and by the condition in which he found the only available vernacular edition of the Old Testament.

The condition of the Douay Old Testament at the time was, in fact, an impelling motive for his revision. A new edition was needed, in the first place because the Douay had not been re-issued after the edition of 1635. It was, therefore, not easily had. But in considering the need of an available text, it was fairly evident to anyone that something more than a reprinting of the Douay was called for. At the time the version of Gregory Martin and his associates was almost a century and a half old, still older if we start from the date of its production and not from that of its publication. Hence it bore to Challoner's time about the same chronological relation that his revision does to our day. Not only was it hard to obtain, but when obtained it was not readily understood. Its diction and idiom in general were obsolete; its Latinisms made it very obscure in parts; its preservation of outworn controversies made it awkward. And

² *Op. cit.*, p. 443.

further, it was contrasted with the King James Bible, a contrast that did little credit to its "vigorous diction and flights of noble eloquence."

There was probably no one in England more conscious of these conditions of the Catholic version than Challoner. No one would feel more keenly the urgent need of an improved text. His activity in the field of apologetic and devotional literature probably gave him the impression that the problem lay squarely on his doorstep. One of his biographers³ suggests that he may have taken the revision upon himself because he realized that its success depended upon the support of Church authority. There may have been something of this in his motive, since at the time he was coadjutor bishop of the London District. It is also true that there were few others in England more capable of the work. The English colleges abroad had manifested little inclination to accept the labor or assume the responsibility of such an enterprise. In any case, Challoner, with his usual aggressive industry, adopted the problem as his own, and within two years had the revised Old Testament on the market. And yet, in spite of this incredibly short time, he produced so complete a revision of the Douay that Newman could later term it "little short of a new translation,"⁴ and Wiseman observed that it left hardly a verse of the Douay as it was first published.⁵

Whether out of modesty or out of the conviction that this was not a private venture, Bishop Challoner has left us no information concerning his revision. We find this now a cause for regret. And still the work itself speaks for him, and from it we can learn much of the method he followed. The title page of his first edition (1750) advertises that it is the text of Douay, "Newly revised, and corrected, according to the Clementine Edition of the Scriptures." This might serve as a brief description of his method if we add that he had before him also the King James Bible. His sources, therefore, were these three texts: the Douay, the Vulgate, the King James Bible. The Douay remained the groundwork of the new version. When need of change was felt, it was introduced either from the Vulgate or from the

³ Edwin H. Burton, *The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909), p. 270.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 416.

⁵ *Dublin Review*, 2 (1837), p. 476.

Protestant version, the revisor's judgment finding play in the selection. Out of this plan came the Old Testament which we are still using.

Challoner's plan for the revision was indeed simple enough in definition; but it became complicated in practice because its very simplicity made application insecure. The sources were determined by it, but not the degree of dependency of the revisor upon them; and this admitted another principle which is not in the definition: the personal element of the revisor. This is evident as soon as one tries to determine how he used his sources. The elements of his text break up into three categories: one being the Douay version, another the King James, a third Challoner himself, with or without the guidance of the Vulgate. An examination of these will reveal the true basis and character of our Old Testament.

The present investigation is limited to five of the Minor Prophets: Jonas, Micheas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias. The section is in many respects one of the most difficult of the Old Testament. The Hebrew text is not always well preserved; the Latin version is obscure; the Douay here most in need of correction. It is, however, no injustice to the revisor to cross-question him on these books; their very difficulty will manifest more clearly his practice. For the purpose of illustrating the inferences here drawn, the first chapter of Nahum is presented from both the original Douay and Challoner's revision.

Nahum I

(Douay, 1610. Italics represent what was retained by Challoner.)⁶

- 1 *The burden of Ninivie. The booke of the vision of Nahum the Elce-seite.*
- 2 God *is ielous*, & our Lord reuenging, our Lord reuenging, and hauing furie: our Lord reuenging on his aduersaries, and he is angry with his enemies.

Nahum I

(Challoner, 1750. Italics indicate Douay reading; boldface type, that taken from the King James; plain type, that which is proper to Challoner.)

- 1 *The burden of Ninive. The book of the vision of Nahum the Elce-site.*
- 2 The Lord *is a jealous God*, and a revenger: the Lord *is a revenger and hath wrath: the Lord taketh vengeance on his adversaries, and he is angry with his enemies.*

⁶ Neither spelling nor transposition is taken into account in this comparison.

- 3 Our Lord is patient, and great of strength and censing, he wil not make innocent. Our Lords wayes in tempest, and whirlwind, and clowdes the dust of his feete.
- 4 Rebuking the sea, and dryng it vp: and bringing al riuers to a desert. Basan is weakened and Carmel: & the floure of Libanus is faided.
- 5 The mountaines were moued at him, and the hilles were desolate: and the earth hath trembled at his presence, and the world, and al that dwel therin.
- 6 Before the face of his indignation who shal stand? and who shal resist in the wrath of his furie? his indignation is powred out as fire: and the rockes are dissolued by him.
- 7 Our Lord is good, and strengthening in the day of tribulation: and knowing them that hope in him.
- 8 And in a floud passing by, he wil make a consummation of the place thereof: & darkenes shal pursew his enemies.
- 8 VVhat thinke ye against our Lord? consumation he wil make: there shal not rise duble tribulation.
- 10 Because as thornes claspe one another: so the feast of them that drinke together: they shal be consumed as stuble ful of drienes.
- 10 Out of thee shal come forth one that thinketh malice against our Lord in the minde deuising preuarication.
- 12 Thus saith our Lord: If they shal be perfect: and so a great manie, so also shal they be shorne, and he shal passe by: I haue afflicted thee, and I will afflict thee no more.
- 3 The Lord is patient, and great in power, and will not cleanse and acquit the guilty. The Lord's ways are in a tempest, and a whirlwind, and clouds are the dust of his feet.
- 4 He rebuketh the sea, and dryeth it up: and bringeth all the rivers to be a desert. Basan languisheth and Carmel: and the flower of Libanus fadeth away.
- 5 The mountains tremble at him, and the hills are made desolate: and the earth hath quaked at his presence, and the world, and all that dwell therein.
- 6 Who can stand before the face of his indignation? and who shall resist in the fierceness of his anger? his indignation is poured out like fire: and the rocks are melted by him.
- 7 The Lord is good, and giveth strength in the day of trouble: and knoweth them that hope in him.
- 8 But with a flood that passeth by, he will make an utter end of the place thereof: and darkness shall pursue his enemies.
- 9 What do ye devise against the Lord? he will make an utter end: there shall not rise a double affliction.
- 10 For as thorns embrace one another: so while they are feasting and drinking together, they shall be consumed as stubble that is fully dry.
- 11 Out of thee shall come forth one that imagineth evil against the Lord, contriving treachery in his mind.
- 12 Thus saith the Lord: Though they were perfect: and many of them so, yet thus shall they be cut off, and he shall pass: I have afflicted thee, and I will afflict thee no more.

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| <p>13 <i>And now I wil breake his rod from of thy backe, and I wil burst thy bondes in sunder.</i></p> <p>14 <i>And our Lord will command vpon thee, there shal not be sowed of thy name any more: out of the house of thy God I wil destroy sculptil, & molten, I wil put thy graue, because thou art dishonored.</i></p> <p>15 <i>Behold vpon the mountaines the feete of him that Euangelizeth, and preacheth peace: celebrate o Iuda thy festiuities, & render thy vows: because Belial shal no more adde to passe through thee, he is wholly perished.</i></p> | <p>13 <i>And now I will break in pieces his rod with which he struck thy back, and I will burst thy bonds asunder.</i></p> <p>14 <i>And the Lord will give a commandment concerning thee, that no more of thy name shall be sown: I will destroy the graven, and molten thing out of the house of thy God, I will make it thy grave, for thou art disgraced.</i></p> <p>15 <i>Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, and that preacheth peace: O Juda, keep thy festivals, and pay thy vows: for Belial shall no more pass through thee again, he is utterly cut off.</i></p> |
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1 RELATION TO DOUAY

Even this one chapter from Nahum is sufficient to make us appreciate Bishop Challoner's problem, and why he undertook a thorough revision in place of a reprinting of the old version. The difficulties of the passage are obvious. That his text is an improvement is also obvious. Our first conclusion, therefore, must be that Challoner's undertaking was not so much a matter of choice as of necessity.

The extent of his revision may also be seen from this comparison of the two texts. Newman had some justification for his statement that the revision is rather a new translation; but the statement is not entirely true. Newman also claimed that Challoner's text has its basis in neither the Douay nor the Protestant version, and that, if anything, it is closer to the Protestant than to the Douay.⁷ In the first place, Challoner's work can in no sense be termed a translation; nine-tenths of it came from either the

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 416-18. Newman based this conclusion on a study of Ps. 52 in the three texts. He admits, however, that this one instance may not be a fair test of the general character of Challoner's work. That it is not may be seen from the following analysis of the constituent elements of Jonas. Given in round numbers, the words in Challoner's Jonas come: from Douay, 1050; from King James, 160; from Challoner himself, 90. Further, the book contains only 6 inversions of the word order in Douay. But even this ratio should not be adopted as a fixed rule, since Challoner probably varied his policy with the difficulty of the text.

Douay or the King James. Further, the above illustration from Nahum, which may be taken as a fair comparison, does not bear out the contention that Challoner was independent of both Douay and King James. In tone, perhaps, his revision does come closer to the King James; but in actual text it is made up principally of the Douay. The fact is that, while his alterations were extensive, Challoner manifested a clear disposition to retain the Douay wherever possible. Other changes might have been introduced into his first chapter of Nahum if the revisor were not inclined to "temper his pen."

And still the two versions read quite differently, and we are induced to ask the reason. On closer inspection it will appear that Challoner departed from the Douay mainly in three particulars of language. The most substantial of these is a choice of words. We can say "choice of words"; for it is relatively rare that he gave up an entire clause of the Douay. In the second place he introduced a variety of conjunctions to replace the simple "and" which Douay had preserved from the Vulgate. In this he generally took direction from the King James. Finally, his use of prepositions is, for the most part, a great change from the Douay, coming, probably, closer to the idiom of his own time. These three elements play a great part in style. They really give Challoner's work its character of distinction when compared with the Douay and the King James.

The criticism of the Douay was the easiest phase of the task undertaken by Challoner. It did not require special qualifications for one to see that the text was not clear, or that its idiom was in many details no longer current. And still we can admit that in the main he performed this negative side of his work with good taste. In the above passage from Nahum, for instance, the "our" with which the Douay always modifies "Lord" is not in the Vulgate and was properly dropped.⁸ Again, verse three could not be allowed to remain as it was. Such expressions as "I will put thy grave" (v. 14), and "add to pass through thee" (v. 15), likewise called for change. There was some justification for his rejection of many terms in this passage, as the "sculptil and molten" of verse fourteen. He did not, it is true, succeed

⁸ The defence of this "our" in the preface to the first edition of Rheims, and by Wiseman (*op. cit.*, p. 447), is far from convincing.

in eliminating all of these odd expressions, but he caught most of them.

The comparison of the two texts brings out what Challoner's objectives were and how he went about achieving them. He wanted to arrive at a text that was within the idiom of his own time, and one that was less burdened with the obscurities of the Douay. The principle he employed for the accomplishment of this aim was in fact his own judgment, and not any fixed or objective norm. If he failed to reach his objective, it was because he was not always consistent in his judgment. But this may be seen more clearly in what he substituted for the rejected readings of the Douay.

2 RELATION TO KING JAMES BIBLE

Challoner's revision, from the standpoint of quantity, was not as dependent upon the Protestant text as is sometimes thought. The specimen of his work given above, or an examination of any part of his version, will establish this. (Cf. footnote 7.) Further, it has been noted that he made an effort to modify what he did take from the King James, as though he would not have it known that he was dependent upon this version. Some reflection of this is evident in the section from Nahum given above. This was not, however, done from a dissembling spirit, for the fact of his borrowing from the King James was patent. It was rather his desire to avoid too close an imitation of the Protestant text in order that the Catholic tone of his own might not be lost. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the King James Bible itself was not in every respect up to the times; nor did it always suit Challoner's purpose. He did rely upon it to some extent, and what he took from it may in general be considered an improvement of the Douay.

In numerous instances Challoner adopted the terms of the King James; but his dependency upon it was more in the line of style. This has been suggested above in the reference to his departure from the Douay in the use of conjunctions and prepositions. In both cases he came much closer to the practice of the King James, though he was not always consistent in the application of this rule. In both cases the King James frequently influenced not only the expression but also the general sense of the passage. Here too the change was generally for the better.

Such departure from the Douay, under the influence of the King James, was quite consonant with Challoner's aim, as long as the sense of the passage remained that of the Vulgate. But we are made to wonder when we see him following the Protestant version not only against the Douay but also against the exact sense of the Latin. In verses 3,11,14 and 15 of the first chapter of Nahum there is exemplification of this. Further, in Habacuc 1:7,8,9,15 he adopts the pronouns of the King James against the Vulgate and the Douay. None of these examples, it is true, makes a great deal of difference in the ultimate meaning of the passages, but they all illustrate the revisor's willingness to depart from the Vulgate. It might also be contended that they can be justified from the Hebrew; but Challoner was not following the Hebrew. This is perhaps the chief weakness of Challoner's relation to the King James. To his credit, however, it must be said that in many instances he adhered strictly to the Douay and Vulgate when the clearer reading of the King James might have drawn him away. An example of this will be found in Jonas 1:8. He was, therefore, actually taking guidance from the Vulgate, though, again, he was not always consistent in the application of his principle.

3 ELEMENTS PROPER TO CHALLONER

After retaining what he could of the Douay, and borrowing what he wanted of the King James, Bishop Challoner found a great deal of room for the exercise of his own ingenuity. In quantity this personal contribution of the revisor varies with the different books, but never rivals what he saved from the Douay, and seldom if ever exceeds what he took from the Protestant version. It is in this element of his revision that we get our most intimate view of his work, and our best understanding of his methods. This element proper to Challoner may be considered under three heads: what is independent of all his sources, what is peculiar to his English expression, and what is due to the Vulgate.

There are not a few instances in which we must attribute the reading to Challoner's own venture. He appears to have followed the rule that, when the Douay called for modification, and the Protestant version was not acceptable, the revisor himself should intervene. This seems to have been his mind in dealing

with Mic. 1:10-12. The passage is one in which Jerome translated the names of several towns, leaving the sense quite obscure. The Douay stumbled over the text, while the King James, following the Hebrew, restored the proper names. Challoner launched out for himself, though his attempt at improving the sense is hardly fortunate. In many cases what he gives us of his own is but a variant for the King James, due perhaps to his unwillingness to follow that version too far. In still other instances he departs from the Douay even though the King James agrees with it. For example: in Mic. 1:6 Challoner reads "lay bare" against the "discover" of D. and K. J.; in Mic. 2:10 he has "grievous" in place of the "sore" of D. and K. J.; in Soph. 2:7 he prefers "bring back" to the "turn away" of the two older texts.

What strikes us most forcibly in these proper readings is that they do not always improve upon the Douay's rendering of the Latin. They appear at times somewhat arbitrary, as though in his haste the revisor did not bother to study the verse. It is known that the Hebrew was outside his reach; failing this, we should expect him to be more careful with the Latin. Burton remarks that what was proper to Challoner consisted "mostly in recasting sentences."⁹ This is far from the whole story, if the evidence of the revision itself can be accepted. He is likewise responsible for the sense of those passages which he altered on his own authority.

From the standpoint of English expression Burton admits that "he has not given us a version that can challenge comparison with older English versions."¹⁰ This reflects the criticism of both Wiseman and Newman. The latter claimed that "he has sacrificed force and vividness in some of his changes."¹¹ Wiseman wrote that "he weakened the language considerably"; and that, "as far as simplicity and energy of style are concerned, the changes are for the worse." Wiseman at the same time complained of Challoner's tendency to abandon the inversions of the Latin, although these are at times quite congenial to our language.¹² Several instances of this modification of word order

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 281.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 274.

¹¹ Cf. Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 476. It is true that these inversions alter the tone of Challoner's text, and also that at times they are weak. But there were many

may be seen in the above chapter from Nahum. Cf. verses 6,9, 12,14.

What these authorities say is undoubtedly true; but there is something to be said on the other side. Challoner laid no claim to special gifts of expression, and it is doubtful whether the question of style occurred to him in anything but a practical way. His ambition was to produce a version which the people could understand, and not to set up a literary rival to the older texts. On the other hand, the Douay may have been vigorous in diction and style; but its Latinisms, its solecisms, its odd phrases, made it at best a very imperfect literary work. Perhaps better results might have been had from a closer adherence to the style of the King James, but Challoner had reasons for avoiding this. He did, then, just about what we should wish him to have done: he rendered into plain, but by no means ordinary language, what he conceived as the true sense of the Scriptures.

More important, however, than his English expression is his attitude towards the Latin text. He claims to have used the Clementine Vulgate as a means of correcting the Douay version, and there is plenty of evidence that he did have the Latin text before him. We have seen that he sometimes permitted the King James to take him away from the exact sense of the Vulgate. Perhaps under this same influence, he allowed himself much freedom when venturing a rendering of his own from the Latin. This is the most surprising thing about his work. If in this matter he was going beyond the Latin to reach the accurate meaning of a Hebrew idiom, or the sense of the Hebrew tenses, there could be no objection. But we know that he was not using the Hebrew text. The instances of this freedom in translating the Vulgate are so numerous that we must accept it as a set policy with the revisor.

In the one chapter of Nahum given above there are several instances of this fault. Consider the following verses.

2 "The Lord is a jealous God, and a revenger..." The Latin reads, "God is jealous, and the Lord is revenger."

phrases in the Douay that had to be changed. Consider, for instance:

Jonas 1:9 " ... and the Lord God of heauen I feare."

Jonas 2:3 " ... out of the bellie of hel cried I."

Hab. 1:9 " ... he shal gather as the sand, captiuitie."

Hab. 1:17 " ... and alwayes to kil the nations he wil not spare."

Soph. 2:4 " ... Azotus at noone they shal cast out."

3 "...will not cleanse and acquit the guilty." The Latin has: "Cleansing he will not make innocent." Challoner follows the King James in part, but without reaching the sense of the Hebrew.

10 "...so while they are feasting and drinking together..." This is an impossible rendering of the Latin, again partly under the influence of the King James.

13 "...with which he struck thy back..." This is a clear addition to the Vulgate, and one that moves still farther away from the sense of the Hebrew.

The Douay version, even if at times to a slavish degree, was more faithful to the text it purported to translate. Perhaps Challoner wanted to avoid the Latin coloring of the Douay, and in doing so went too far. In any case this policy must be set down as a fault, perhaps the greatest fault of all his work, and one that we find difficult to understand. He knew Latin too well for us to consider these as mere mistakes in translation. Rather, he seems to have been always striving for a clear reading in English, and to obtain this he was willing to render freely what he considered the thought of the Latin.¹³

This feature of Challoner's revision is interesting for another reason. It tells us that the text which has been our recognized Old Testament in English for these 190 years is not always as close to the Clementine Vulgate as we may have supposed.

III

In venturing to criticise Bishop Challoner's revision we are not unmindful of the great claim he has upon our gratitude. We owe to him, and practically to him alone, the version of the Old Testament which has been ours now for almost two centuries. And we can further concede that there is hardly a defect of his work that cannot be in one way or another traced to the circumstances under which he labored.

Our criticism should be reserved for another reason. Early in the last century Charles Butler could say that the version of Challoner was imperfect.¹⁴ But while he was right, he had no

¹³ In view of this fact, which is fully justified by wider inspection of Challoner's text, it is strange to read in Newman (*op. cit.*, p. 421): "...he could not be unfaithful to the Vulgate: he never would leave its literal sense for the Protestant text..."

¹⁴ Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

intention of trying to improve on it. Both Wiseman and Newman pointed out the weaknesses of this revision of the Douay, but neither got very far with a better text.¹⁵ If, therefore, we allow ourselves to look upon Challoner's version as short of the perfection desired in a vernacular text of the Scriptures, it should be with the intention of seeking guidance for the essay we are about to make in this difficult field. And from Challoner we can learn some lessons.

We find ourselves, as he did, confronted with the need of a version better suited to the conditions of our time. In the quotation just referred to, Butler observed that the greatest spiritual need of England was a better revision of our common vernacular text. That was more than a century ago. The same need is implied in the complaints raised by Wiseman and Newman against the work of Challoner. What was contemplated by these men as a need in their time, in ours has become a duty. If we can, we should meet the problem. And in this are the two motives which justify our attempt to revise the text of Challoner. First, that text, because of its age and because of its character, no longer conveys readily the message of the Old Testament. Second, we have the means of improving it, both in men equipped for the work, and in the encouragement given us by the Episcopal Committee of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. To undertake the task is for us, as it was for Challoner, more a matter of necessity than of choice.

From the very consideration of the imperfections of Challoner's text we may discover some of the dangers to be avoided in the work upon which we are launched. It is to be feared that he looked upon his task as mainly one of elimination and alteration, the constructive side of it appearing much easier than it proved to be. So simple was the plan laid out for his revision that we are not far wrong in holding that he had no fixed rule or principle. It was also a disadvantage to him to have at hand a text like the King James, from which he could borrow as he saw fit. Finally, the Vulgate seems to have played but a very minor role in the actual building up of his text. In brief, Challoner's

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* This article by Wiseman (unsigned) is usually quoted only on the subject of Challoner. The author is really concerned with the need of a new revision, and the endowments necessary in the one who would undertake it. It merits reading especially for his suggestions concerning the rendering of the Vulgate in the light of the original language.

whole concept of a revision seems to have been less accurate than it might have been.

Against some of these dangers we have already made provision in the carefully drawn up principles which serve as guide to the revisors.¹⁶ These should teach us the lesson that Challoner failed to grasp. The task before us goes beyond any current English text. If we are inclined to retain Challoner's style or diction, it is out of respect for a version to which our people have become accustomed. Our real duty is towards the Vulgate, to catch the sense of the Hebrew as reflected in that venerable text, and to turn this as accurately as possible into English. In other words, the revision is not a matter of changing a word or phrase in the older text; it is a complete re-examination of the meaning of that text in the light of the original.

But there are more positive directions to be had from Challoner's example. Among the first of these is the appreciation of the part being played in our work by the Church authority which encourages it. Wiseman indicates the significance of this authority for any biblical version in his criticism of Lingard's private effort.¹⁷ Without this support who would have the temerity to undertake so delicate a task? Fortified in this way, we might also learn from Challoner how to head straight for our objective, without delay though not with his haste, concerned wholly with the noble purpose of making the divine message available. His zeal, his courage, his personal devotion to his immense task, might inspire all who are engaged in such an enterprise.

Finally, if we do as well in our effort at a revision of the Old Testament as he did, keeping in mind the considerable advantages we enjoy over him, we may be sanguine of its results. His was good enough to endure for these 190 years as the recognized text in all English-speaking countries. It has not escaped criticism, it is true, but neither will ours. In fact there is some reason to believe that our work may be put to a more severe test, as our equipment for it far surpasses his, and as our times are more given to criticism. But if we, with all our advantages, pursue our work with some of his spirit, perhaps it may be more capable of bearing criticism than was the revision of the great Vicar Apostolic of the London District.

WILLIAM L. NEWTON.

¹⁶ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 1 (1939), pp. 267-70. ¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 476.

THE CRITERION OF NEW TESTAMENT INSPIRATION

Biblical inspiration is a supernatural action of the Holy Ghost upon the faculties of a man, whereby the Holy Ghost Himself becomes the primary author of a writing, and the man, the hagiographer, its secondary author. This divine influence must affect every human faculty that is strictly necessary to the composition of the book. It must therefore affect the intellect, the will, and the executive powers. Pope Leo XIII says of the divine Inspirer:

For by supernatural power He so moved and impelled them to write, He so assisted them, that the things which He ordered, and those things only, they first rightly understood, then willed to write them down faithfully, and finally expressed them with apt words and infallible truth.¹

Nothing in this process does violence to the faculties of man, who acts according to his nature as a free agent. The sacred writer may not be aware of this supernatural influence. Nor is it necessary to an inspired book that its contents be revealed to the human writer. Even in a case like that of the Apocalypse, whose author avows himself commanded to write in a book certain truths directly revealed to him, we cannot conclude from this alone that the book is an inspired one.

The Church cannot inspire the writing of a book. God Himself does so in the very process of its composition. Again, the fact of inspiration precedes the act of canonization ontologically, logically and chronologically. The Church's canonization of a book is her official, authoritative and infallible declaration of its inspired character. The actual inspiration of the canonical books is not the aim of this discussion, but a truth of faith which serves as a basis for the present inquiry. The Vatican Council decrees, in Canon 4 *de revelatione*, "If any one does not receive as sacred and canonical the books in their entirety, with all their parts, as named by the Council of Trent, or denies that they are divinely inspired, let him be anathema." The same Council declares that the books enumerated by Trent are received by the Church as sacred and canonical, not as having been composed by human industry alone and then approved by her authority, nor merely because they contain revelation without error, but because, having been composed through the inspiration of the Holy

¹ Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*.

Ghost, they have God for their author and as such have been delivered to the Church herself.

A study of the New Testament canon is not intended here, but reference will be made to it for such light as it may shed upon our proper subject, the criterion of the inspiration of the New Testament writings. To these the discussion is limited, though much of its matter is equally appropriate to the Old Testament. The latter, with the belief in its inspiration, was received by the nascent Church as from the divine authority formerly proper to the old dispensation. Christ and His Apostles fully confirmed this acceptance. The inspired Christian writings were composed during a period of about fifty-eight years. Several centuries passed before the canon of the New Testament had been definitely established by the Church. It would naturally be long before even the existence of some of the books could be universally known. No complete authentic canon could be expected soon after the death of John the Apostle. Even after all of the books were generally known, the inspiration of some of them was not accepted everywhere. Eusebius supplies much information on this subject.²

The Church, though guided by the Holy Ghost, would be sure to proceed with caution in this matter. Its vital moment prompts the present inquiry. What could actually serve as a criterion of inspiration, and what actually did so? For all the faithful the Church's certification of Holy Scripture is final and supreme. St. Augustine has written, *Ego vero evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicae ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas*.³ But what criterion did the infallible Church apply in deciding this matter, and in discerning the inspired works from other writings in circulation for which inspiration had been claimed?

Keeping in mind the genuine notion of inspiration as always held in the Church, several criteria actually proposed are evidently false or insufficient for the Church at large. It is the more pertinent to note these inadequate criteria, since even today many Protestants appeal to them, and since their exclusion brings out in clearer relief the only true and universal criterion of the inspiration of the New Testament.

² *Hist. Eccles.* III, iii, 5.

³ *Contra Epistulam Manichaei*, v, 6.

The criterion of inspiration is that norm by which the inspired character of a book is judged with certainty. It is negative in tendency when it proves a work not to be inspired. Such, for instance, might be the contradiction of some revealed truth. The criterion is positive when it establishes the fact of a writing's inspiration. An internal criterion is one taken from the book itself, or from some experience of its reader or its writer. An external criterion is some decisive fact distinct from all of these and independent of the book itself. Such would be the objective revelation of the inspired character of the book.

Especially with the advent of Protestantism and its concomitant rejection of the teaching authority of the Church, various internal criteria have been set up for judging the inspiration of a book.⁴ These may be briefly considered without descending to scientific detail.

Some have claimed that the book itself should bear witness to its inspiration either by its matter or its form. However, the matter of a book does not enter into the strict and proper concept of biblical inspiration. The decisive question is not what the book contains, but under what conditions it was written. It is true that in the Scriptures as a whole we do expect to find sublime truths expressed. But we do not expect this everywhere, nor do we find it. Dry genealogies have their place, and narratives of human misdoing which no one would select as especially suitable for spiritual reading. Such passages fulfill an aim nowise unworthy of their author, but they also serve to show that the mere contents of his work cannot assure us of his inspiration. Nor, again, does inspiration imply the revelation of his material to the sacred writer; the two phenomena are quite distinct.

From power or elegance of language, again, no criterion can be derived, since this cannot be ascribed with certainty to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The employers themselves of this criterion accept as inspired some writings which fail to exhibit such excellence in all their parts. Conversely, there are uninspired works which surpass some portions of Scripture in loftiness or grace of expression. Again, it must be remembered that inspiration does not tend to alter very considerably the diction

⁴ For a summary of such criteria see *Institutiones Biblicae* Vol. I⁵, lib. i, no. 105.

or style of the human writer. A rustic writes as we should naturally expect, and so does a learned man. The natural style may even supply confirmatory proof of a particular authorship. Hence, no such criterion of inspiration could be universal. The adage *De gustibus non est disputandum* would seem to have special pertinence here.

Others have judged the inspiration of a book by the fruits it produced in the reader's mind. Luther declared that he could judge a book to be inspired *ex gustu et sapore*. He did not experience this "taste" in some books, such as the Apocalypse:

In this book I leave every one to his own opinion, and ask no one to accept my opinion or judgment. I speak what I feel. Many things are wanting in this book which move me to hold it neither apostolic nor prophetic. My spirit is not drawn to the book, and a sufficient cause why I esteem the book no higher is that Christ is neither taught nor acknowledged, a thing which first of all an apostle should do.⁵

Such a method of judging inspiration is subjective in principle, as this citation at once makes evident. The same passage might elicit in one reader an act of faith, hope or love, and only provoke in another a sardonic smile, according to the reader's dispositions. Even among men of good will the effect may vary in degree, or differ in the same person at different times. Such a criterion could not suffice, being neither objective nor universal, but purely arbitrary. Its adoption might lead to an endless number of "inspired" books.

Of the same order is the pietistic, or Calvinistic, criterion, according to which God reveals to the individual Christian reader which books are inspired, as well as their true interpretation. The absurd contradictions resulting from such a criterion are its own refutation.

Not even a writer's own testimony to the inspiration of his book could of itself suffice as a criterion of the fact. That men may accept a writing as God's own, they must be certain of His authorship. But the human writer's mere assertion that he wrote under the influence of divine inspiration does not demand credence. Even with no reason to suspect deception, such a statement could merit no more than human faith, whereas the fact of divine inspiration demands divine faith. To deserve this assent, the writer's claim requires divine corroboration. Exception must, of course, be made for an Apostle, whose testimony to the

⁵ *Vorrede zur Offenbarung S. Johannis*, LXIII, 169.

inspiration of his writing, or of the writing of others, would suffice within the limits of its extension. For the Apostles enjoyed the prerogative of personal infallibility in their apostolic teaching. Christ enjoins upon all the obligation of believing whatever the Apostles teach: "He that heareth you heareth me" (Lk. 10:16). Certainly, nothing could more properly pertain to doctrine than to identify a writing as inspired, and therefore a source of revelation in itself. Only by revelation, however, could the Apostle be aware of the fact of this inspiration. And in fact it would seem that no New Testament writer attests the inspiration of his own book within its very pages. Even of the Apocalypse this cannot be conclusively shown.

An independent scrutiny of internal criteria always tends to reveal their futility. They cannot furnish conclusive evidence of such operations of the Holy Ghost as inspiration demands. Nor could such a fact be left to individual decision. The inspired books form a part of the *depositum fidei*, whose custodian is the Church. Only an objective, infallible and universal criterion can establish their identity. This is further evident from the fact that many upholders of internal criteria of inspiration find themselves forced either to reject the true concept of inspiration itself, or to appeal in some measure to the belief of the early Church in order to find some objective footing.

Perceiving this necessity, John David Michaelis, of Göttingen (who died in 1791), abandoned the subjective norm and maintained that the apostolic authorship of a work, and this alone, guaranteed its inspiration. He therefore rejected the Gospels of Mark and Luke, together with the Acts, from his canon of sacred Scripture. With regard to subjective criteria, he says (in his *Einleitung in die Göttlichen Schriften des Neuen Bundes*):

This interior sensation of the effects of the Holy Ghost, and the conviction of the utility of these writings to better the heart and purify us, are entirely uncertain criteria. As regards this interior sensation, I avow that I have never experienced it, and those who have felt it are not to be envied. It cannot evince the divine character of the book, since the Muhammadans feel it as well as Christians, and pious sentiments can be aroused by documents purely human, by the writings of philosophers, and even by doctrine founded on error.

Although Michaelis declares for apostolicity as being an objective norm—an opinion which we shall examine on its own merits—he is still arbitrary in considering it an exclusive one. So long as no other office or function of a sacred writer is in-

volved in the true concept of inspiration, no such exclusion can be valid. As we shall see, some Catholic writers agree with Michaelis that apostolicity is a criterion, but positively and not exclusively such.

All Catholics agree that, since God alone knows whom He has inspired to write, He alone can tell us with certainty what writings are inspired. All therefore look to objective divine revelation for the answer to the question. The two sources of revelation are Scripture and Tradition. In them alone must the criterion of inspiration be sought.

What, in the first place, do we learn from Holy Scripture considered as a source of divine revelation? The inspiration of St. Paul's Epistles in general is unequivocally declared by St. Peter in the words: "As also our most dear brother Paul, according to the wisdom given him, hath written to you: as also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are certain things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, to their own destruction" (2 Pet. 3:15-16). Examination reveals that St. Peter wrote this shortly before his death, so that it may be dated about the year 66. By that time St. Paul had written the Epistles to the Churches, those of the Captivity, and perhaps all the others except 2 Timothy. Now it is 2 Peter that contains the classical proof of the inspiration of Scripture. This makes it the more significant that in this same Epistle St. Peter should rank the epistles of St. Paul with "the other scriptures." This is to vouch for the inspiration of those writings to which he alludes, since no other point of comparison justifies the inclusion. Whether still more should be deduced from this text, will be discussed at a later point; but it certainly yields an objective criterion of the inspiration of a part of the New Testament.

Certain other New Testament texts, occasionally cited to the same purpose, are not equally conclusive, and need not be considered in this article. We may therefore proceed to the proposed criterion of apostolic authorship. This does not receive in some treatises the attention it deserves. The criterion has been espoused by some Catholic writers of note, among them Ubaldi, Lamy and Schang. They do not, however, hold this criterion to be exclusively, but positively and partially such, adding that tradition is the only universal and adequate criterion of

inspiration. They believe that the apostolic office in the concrete, as conferred by Christ, included the charisma of inspiration. Thus Ubaldi:⁶

Munus ergo apostolicum consideramus dumtaxat uti criterium *affirmans* seu positivum ita ut valeat argumentum: hic vel ille auctor fuit Apostolus; ergo ejus scripta sunt divinitus inspirata. Quinimo munus apostolicum etiam in sensu explicato non consideramus per se et in suo abstracto conceptu, de quo nolumus hic instituere quaestionem, sed potius in concreto, uti aiunt, et prout in sacris Scripturis describitur, scilicet cum omnibus charismatibus et praerogativis quibus illud ornatum ac veluti cumulatam fuisse reipsa, seu, uti aiunt, de facto ex sacra historia discimus.

Ubaldi's main argument is based upon Scripture, and is as follows: the Apostles, in the discharge of their office of preaching and propagating the doctrine of Christ, were inspired by the Holy Ghost; therefore they were also inspired when communicating the same doctrine in writing. For the antecedent of his argument he alleges a number of texts, which we exhibit with his principal comments on their force.

And I will ask the Father: and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever: the spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, nor knoweth him. But you shall know him; because he shall abide with you and shall be in you (Jn. 14: 16-17).

But the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things and bring all things to your mind, whatsoever I shall have said to you (Jn. 14:26).

Ubaldi stresses *in you* (v. 17), saying, "Not only with them, but *in* them, namely in their minds and hearts, teaching them all truth and bringing to their minds whatsoever they should teach and preach. Which is nothing else than inspiration in the proper and true sense, to be given them through a permanent charisma."

But when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will teach you all truth. For he shall not speak of himself: but what things soever he shall hear, he shall speak. And the things that are to come, he shall show you (Jn. 16:13).

To show how in fact this promise was fulfilled, Ubaldi cites Acts 2 for the penecostal eloquence of the Holy Ghost speaking through the Apostles; also Acts 15:28, "For it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us."

Now, we have received not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit that is of God: that we may know the things that are given us from God. Which things also we speak: not in the learned words of human wisdom, but in the doctrine of the Spirit (1 Cor. 2:12-13).

⁶ *Introductio in Sacram Scripturam*⁵, II, p. 77.

Ubaldi also quotes 1 Cor. 2:16 and 2 Cor. 13:3. Further:

Because, that when you had received of us the word of the hearing of God, you received it not as the word of men, but (as it is indeed) the word of God (1 Thess. 2:13).

For it shall be given you in that hour what to speak. For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you (Mt. 10:19-20).

To prove the consequent of his argument Ubaldi reasons thus: the Holy Ghost must have conferred upon the Apostles the same inspiration when they delivered their message in writing as when they taught by word of mouth. For what could be more absurd than to suppose that the divine enlightenment should be withdrawn merely because the same apostolic instruction was to be given in writing?

Most authors, however, do not find Ubaldi's arguments convincing. As to his antecedent, it is clear enough that Mt. 10:19-20 foretells a genuine inspiration *ad loquendum*. But to promise this "when they shall deliver you up" and "in that hour," would seem to afford no assurance of a permanent charisma. The gift is circumscribed by a special occasion. Neither do the other texts, considered in themselves, afford proof of any permanent charisma of inspiration in the strict and proper sense. Together they affirm the assistance of the Holy Ghost in preventing error, in recalling to mind the truths once revealed, in clarifying them, in revealing new truths; all of which by no means excludes inspiration if and when God should see fit to bestow it. So much as this can be fairly concluded; but the further claim that these texts postulate inspiration properly so called, has not commended itself to most theologians. Pesch, Crets and Cardinal Franzelin have examined the argument and found it wanting. That a promise of inspiration was positively included, might indeed be affirmed with certainty in the case of an interpretative consensus of the Fathers; but the texts alone do not seem to demand it clearly.

Nor would all assent to Ubaldi's proof of the consequent. Granting that in teaching and preaching the Apostles were strictly inspired *ad loquendum*, and by a permanent charisma, must it follow that this same endowment so affected their writings also as to make them primarily those of the Holy Ghost? I do not think this can be strictly proved. It is not ours to determine the exact extent of the effect of a charisma. We cannot simply

infer that a free gift of inspiration, whether *ad loquendum* or *ad scribendum*, was necessary to the fulfillment of the apostolic office. Several of the texts alleged refer directly to speaking under divine inspiration, but they do not of themselves require the extension of this gift to writing.

However, the claim of apostolic authorship as a positive criterion may be urged on other grounds. In 2 Pet. 3:16, as we have seen, the epistles of St. Paul are the subject of a *general* canonization. St. Peter names no single epistle, but writes *ὡς καὶ ἐν πάσαις ἐπιστολαῖς*—"as also in all his epistles." This raises the question whether St. Peter intends to connect the fact of the inspiration of St. Paul's epistles—a fact which all admit that he affirms—with the ulterior fact of St. Paul's apostolic office. Does St. Peter mean only to ascribe inspiration to "all the epistles" of St. Paul as then existing, or does he mean to imply that any writing of St. Paul must needs be inspired? Most exegetes, I believe, will decline to push the sense of the passage beyond an affirmation of existing fact. Van Noort, however, makes a point of the general extent of St. Peter's statement.⁷ It seems to me, in fact, to have some argumentative value; but it can hardly be urged as conclusive in face of the possibility of other explanations.

Another argument for the apostolical criterion is sought from the fact that all extant writings of Apostles are actually canonical scriptures. Indeed, excepting the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke and the Acts (of which more will presently be said), the canon of the New Testament consists exclusively of just these writings. Their common aim is that of the apostolic function of doctrine and edification. All of them, even the brief letter to Philemon, contain Christian doctrine. Had we any authentic writing of an Apostle which, for lack of the warrant of tradition, was not accepted by the Church as inspired and canonical, it would be clear that apostolic authorship could not claim to be a criterion of inspiration. The fact is to the contrary; and this, it is urged, cannot be accidental. That the apostolic writers should as such have been inspired by the Holy Ghost was, to say the least, most fitting.

But while this fact is certainly significant, it must not be urged beyond its native force. To say that if the Apostles had ever

⁷ *Tractatus de Fontibus Revelationis*³, p. 31.

written other doctrinal works, these too would have been inspired, is to argue from a fact to a right. It is independently maintained that the canonization of all the extant writings of Apostles was not due to the fact that their apostolic origin guaranteed their inspiration, but to the divine testimony of tradition concerning each particular book.

Defenders of apostolicity as a criterion of inspiration commonly allege that the two are associated in the common mind of the early Church. Between the actual determination of the canon and the apostolic origin of its writings there is certainly an intimate historical connection. The history of the Apocalypse evinces this link. From apostolic times till the third century this was held to be an inspired work, and written by John the Apostle. This is attested from all parts of the Church. Then came the millenarian controversy,⁸ and the appeal to Apoc. 20:4 in defence of the false opinion. In confuting it St. Dionysius of Alexandria († 268) denied that St. John the Apostle had written the Apocalypse. Thereafter, in some other churches, the inspiration of the Apocalypse was also denied. This may be seen in Eusebius' treatment of the Apocalypse. He admits that the unanimous tradition of previous centuries had accepted the book as inspired, yet in deference to the opinions of his own time he permits this to be doubted. Thus the denial of the apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse occasioned the further denial of its inspiration. Although the doubt soon disappeared, the manner of its origin seems to reflect an early impression that the apostolicity of a work guaranteed its inspiration.

But the implications of this connection must be well weighed before it can serve as an argument for apostolic authorship as a positive criterion of inspiration. In most of the New Testament books the inscription includes the author's name, and the whole content and tenor of the work confirms the inscription. If such a work were not that of the Apostle named, it would be a forgery, since there is no place here for mere literary device. This makes it easy to understand that in the history of the canon, and more particularly that of some of the deuterocanonical works, the question of authorship should be intimately connected with that of inspiration and canonicity. One cannot immediately con-

⁸ Not identical with the millenarism of Sts. Justin and Irenaeus.

clude, from such a connection, that apostolic authorship was a positive criterion.

St. Jerome, for example, is cited as saying in his Prologue to Philemon that this epistle would never have been accepted by all the churches unless it was believed to be a writing of St. Paul. At first sight this statement suggests that the apostolic authorship of the work was the reason for its acceptance as inspired and its admittance into the canon. But the words of St. Jerome can be otherwise understood. The inscription and the whole content of the letter claim Paul as its writer. If not genuine, therefore, it would not be free from error, and could not have been accepted by the Church as inspired Scripture.

Opponents of apostolicity as a positive criterion of inspiration find it more difficult to explain a statement of St. Augustine:⁹ "Sane de apocryphis iste posuit testimonia, quae sub nominibus Apostolorum Andreae Joannisque conscripta sunt. *Quae si illorum essent, recepta essent ab Ecclesia*, quae ab illorum temporibus per episcoporum successiones certissimas, usque ad nostra et deinceps tempora perseverat." It seems clear that "received by the Church" means more than merely received as authentic documents, without reference to inspiration; and that both St. Jerome and St. Augustine, in the passages before us, use "received" as meaning received into the canon as inspired. Pesch explains St. Augustine as meaning that the writings named would have been received by the Church as inspired if there had been an apostolic tradition to that effect, as claimed by his opponent. Tradition was undoubtedly the deciding factor in all such cases; yet St. Augustine seems to indicate that apostolicity was a positive criterion for the Church.

This leads to another and more general argument in favor of the criterion of apostolicity. Why should apostolic authorship have been claimed for apocryphal works by their writers and by heretics appealing to them? Evidently for the sake of doctrinal authority. Some clearly claim inspiration for these works, quoting from them as if from Scripture itself. Serapion, Bishop of Antioch (about 190), says of such writings, "Nos et Petrum et reliquos Apostolos perinde ac Christum ipsum suscipimus. Sed quae nomen illorum falso in scriptura praeferunt, ea repu-

⁹ *Contra adversarium leg. et prophet.* 39 [XX]; MPL 42, 626.

diamus, quippe qui compertum habemus ea nos a majoribus minime accepisse."¹⁰ Does the practice of heretics reflect the confidence of the early Church in apostolicity as a criterion of inspiration? Serapion appeals to tradition without excluding apostolicity. What he rejects in common with the Church is the false attribution of works to the Apostles as Scripture.

As regards the history of the formation of the canon, even some of those who reject apostolic authorship as a positive criterion—who hold, that is to say, that the charisma of inspiration was not permanently attached to the apostolic office—admit that the acceptance of a book as inspired was sufficient to prove its apostolic origin. Thus Banvel.¹¹ Jacquier also comes to the same conclusion.¹² It is natural to seek a reason for this. Perhaps one may rest satisfied with the explanation of Cardinal Franzelin:¹³

Praeterea utique semper viguit communis persuasio instar principii, quod nulli Apostolorum libri extant, vel certe nulli traditi sunt ecclesiae nisi inspirati. Hoc autem erat testimonium non velut de rei essentia ex ipsa natura apostolatus, sed velut de facto historico ex traditione consensu ecclesiastico confirmata.

This explanation, however, raises a difficulty. Even before the canon of the New Testament is definitely formed, even while there is some dispute as to the apostolic origin of one or another book, the persuasion exists that all the apostolic works are inspired. How, then, can this fact be satisfactorily explained? What is the basis of this persuasion? Why was proof of the apostolic origin of a book sufficient, as some admit, to establish its inspiration? In these days we can appeal to tradition to confirm the fact of inspiration; but while the canon was yet in the making, apostolic authorship seems to have sufficed to establish that fact. This appears to me to point to something deeper, something based on revelation even independent of the established fact as confirmed by the authority of the Church.

All Catholics, as aforesaid, admit that the inspiration of a book can be known only through revelation. Those who consider apostolicity a positive criterion do not demand a distinct divine attestation of each book, but hold that the principle itself

¹⁰ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* VI, xii, 3.

¹¹ *De Scriptura Sacra*, pp. 166 ff.

¹² *Le Nouveau Testament dans l'Église Chrétienne*, I (Paris, 1911), p. 173.

¹³ *De Divina Traditione et Scriptura*³, 372 sqq.

is matter of revelation. One argument is taken from statements of the Apostles in the Acts and Epistles, and primarily of our Lord Himself as recorded in the Gospels. Other arguments are taken from alleged reflections of such a belief in tradition. While these arguments are not entirely convincing, they are positive enough to merit some consideration.

A number of Catholic authors are firmly opposed to apostolic authorship as a positive criterion of inspiration. They not merely affirm tradition to be the only adequate and universal criterion of inspired writing, but the only criterion at all, apart from scriptural warrant for certain books. Their argument is that tradition is the only reason authentically assigned for the acceptance of a writing as inspired. In all official documents, and even in the statements of the early Fathers, the inspiration of certain books is proposed to our belief, not because they were written by Apostles, but because they are handed down as inspired. This constant appeal of the Church to tradition on the subject is an established fact. Authentic documents usually leave the question of authorship untouched. Even the Council of Trent, which does name the authors of the books, does not make their authorship the object of its definition..

The earliest witnesses to the body of Christian belief likewise appeal to an apostolic tradition of this truth. This attitude is particularly striking in St. Irenaeus, a witness of the second century. He writes:¹⁴

Agnitio vera est Apostolorum doctrina, et antiquus Ecclesiae status, in universo mundo, et character corporis Christi secundum successiones episcoporum, quibus illi eam, quae in unoquoque loco est, Ecclesiam tradiderunt: quae pervenit usque ad nos custoditione sine fictione Scripturarum tractatio plenissima, neque additionem neque ablationem recipiens: et lectio sine falsatione, et secundum Scripturas expositio legitima.

The other early witnesses to belief in all matters concerning the inspired Scriptures appeal to this same norm of a process of tradition. They tell us that the Apostles gave these books to the Church as inspired. It is the special appeal of the Fathers in rejecting apocryphal works. Thus St. Athanasius:¹⁵

Quoniam nonnulli conati sunt ordinare sibi apocrypha, quae dicuntur, et ea immiscere Scripturae divinitus inspiratae, de qua perfecte instructi sumus, quemadmodum patribus nostris tradiderunt illi, qui ab initio testes oculati fuerunt et ministri verbi facti sunt.

¹⁴ *Adv. Haer.* IV, xxxiii, 8.

¹⁵ *Epist.* 39.

But is it not stretching this argument too far to use it against those who see in apostolicity a positive criterion? The latter fully concede the established fact of appeal to tradition. They, as well as their opponents, recur to revelation as final. The above appeals to early tradition, upon which much weight is justly laid, still leave obscure the precise criterion on which that tradition had in the first place accepted the books as inspired—whether upon a distinct divine attestation of each book, or by the application of a revealed criterion, such as apostolicity. The common sources have at least no more to say about particular revelations on the one hand, than about a criterion of apostolic authorship on the other. Personally I believe that the question rather begins than ends here.

Some who object to apostolicity as a positive criterion would urge against it the nature of inspiration, and the unfitness of such a charisma. What about the *antecedens inspiratio*? Could not the Apostles have written letters of their own motion? Could they have made use of this charisma at pleasure? The discussion of such points may be of some use, but they cannot decide the question. For, after all, nobody can deny that God could guarantee that all the apostolic writings of the Apostles should be inspired. To my mind it is not more difficult to explain God's part in inspiration in its relation to that of a free human agent, than His part in the inspiration of any individual book.

To sum up what has been said of apostolic authorship as a positive criterion of inspiration, I would say that neither tradition nor the nature of inspiration can be directly invoked against its validity. The criterion must be judged on its own merits. The general argument from Scripture does not seem to be convincing of itself, though justification of such an interpretation *ex aliunde* might lend it weight. The argument from 2 Peter seems to me in some measure to insinuate this criterion. The history of the formation of the New Testament canon seems to reflect some belief in it. I do not think that this belief can be sufficiently explained as only the result of particular revelations concerning the books individually, since, at a time when the belief was general, the authorship of some apostolic works was not yet definitely settled.

The arguments do not constitute a cogent proof. Otherwise, a positive criterion would be much more generally acknowledged

in apostolicity. There are, however, many noted authors who accept it. Among them may be mentioned Ubaldi, Schanz, Dausch, Szekely, Van Noort, Peeters, W. S. Reilly, Lamy, Cellier, Joüon. Nor does the number of adherents of this opinion seem to be decreasing.

Regarding the Gospels of Mark and Luke, and the Acts, which are not strictly speaking the writings of Apostles, nearly all hold that the fact of their inspiration was matter of particular revelation. Some, however, hold that Mark and Luke also enjoyed the charisma of inspiration. Joüon conceives it thus:¹⁶

L'apôtre, chaque fois qu'il écrit en apôtre, est inspiré. Il n'est pas nécessaire qu'il écrive lui-même. Marc et Luc sont personnellement inspirés, mais leur charisme est objectivement conditionné. Dieu ne leur a conféré l'inspiration scripturaire et cette inspiration ne nous est connue qu'aux deux conditions suivantes: ils ont reproduit l'enseignement des apôtres et la fidélité de la reproduction nous est garantie par ceux-ci. L'inspiration des apôtres a donc été connue dans leur caractère apostolique, celle de Marc et de Luc dans leur apostolicité dérivée.

W. Reilly more simply explains it thus:¹⁷ "Dans leur cas, comme dans le cas des apôtres, il suffirait de savoir, sur l'autorité apostolique, qu'ils étaient des docteurs inspirés pour que l'on acceptât leurs livres comme inspirés."

This opinion, however, is not held by all defenders of apostolicity as a positive criterion of inspiration. Many ascribe no permanent charisma to Mark and Luke, but merely say that in their cases a revelation of the fact must be admitted. Concerning the Gospel of Mark we have knowledge of such a revelation. Clement of Alexandria¹⁸ tells us of the origin of the Gospel of Mark. While Peter was in Rome, preaching and promulgating the Gospel "*Spiritu sancto afflatu*," many of the hearers asked Mark to give them the preaching of Peter in writing. Peter neither directly forbade nor encouraged this. St. Jerome tells us that when the work was finished St. Peter approved it and ordered it to be read in the churches.¹⁹ Eusebius tells us that St. Peter had a revelation of the Holy Spirit concerning Mark's Gospel, and ordered it to be read in the churches.²⁰ For Mark's Gospel, then, we know of just such a special revelation of its

¹⁶ *Etudes* XCVIII (1904), p. 90.

¹⁷ *Revue Biblique*, 1921, p. 204.

¹⁸ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* VI, xiv.

¹⁹ *De Viris Illustribus* VIII.

²⁰ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* II, xv.

inspiration as is postulated for all the books by opponents of apostolicity as a positive criterion of inspiration.

From the foregoing discussion of the norm by which the New Testament writings were and are judged to be inspired, it is evident that internal criteria cannot suffice; that apostolicity has arguments in its favor which, however, I should not call definite proofs; that the only universal, infallible and objective criterion is tradition. Herein all Catholics agree, and, as I think, without prejudice to their further explanation how the Church in the first place arrived at certainty concerning the inspiration of these books, provided, of course, that the explanation rests ultimately on revelation.

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MARY ALONE IS "THE WOMAN" OF GENESIS 3:15

Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem, et semen tuum et semen illius.

To the present writer the problem of finding a common ground for comparison between Eve and Mary has long seemed impossible of solution. The one possible meeting point in the text is in the word *inimicitias*; but that word (as most modern Catholic commentators agree) indicates an absolute enmity of which the fallen Eve is incapable.

The most recent effort to solve the problem comes from the pen of D. Nicolaus Palmerini;¹ but the effect produced is one of bewilderment rather than of satisfaction. After emphasizing the fact that the enmity predicted in the text is absolute in its extent (pp. 139-140), he proceeds to indicate Eve as "the woman" in the stricter literal sense, and Mary in the extended literal sense. As proof he offers the comparison that, just as between the material serpent and Eve there will be repugnance, so between the devil and Mary there will be enmity. But such a proof raises too many problems to be taken seriously. First, there is no question of the material serpent in the verse. Secondly, even if there were, it is scientifically untrue to say that there is any peculiar opposition between mankind and snakes, since it is rather a fear of the unknown (true also with respect to other possibly deadly animals) that produces such repugnance as exists. Thirdly, the enmity in the text is a mutual opposition, whereas the serpent has no recognizable repugnance to man. Fourthly, the word *אִיְבָה* (enmity) is applied in scripture only to rational beings, to whom the material serpent would not belong. Fifthly, there still exists no common ground of comparison between Eve and Mary in the feature alleged, but rather a relationship of each woman toward different entities.

Actually, the sole obstacle that lies in the way of a simple, acceptable interpretation of the text is the presumed necessity of including Eve in at least the narrower literal sense. It is her presence which postulates a double meaning for the word "enmity" against the obvious meaning of the text, causes trouble with

¹ *Verbum Domini*, May, 1940; XX, 5.

semen illius, and distorts *ipsum*.² This presumed necessity is not due to any desire to give her prominence. It results rather from the fact that the text seems to deal with a known woman (the term having the definite article in the original Hebrew), while in the whole context the only known woman is certainly Eve. Nevertheless, it can be shown exegetically that no such necessity exists.

EVE NOT NECESSARILY THE WOMAN.

First of all, the Hebrew definite article may have either a limiting, or a limiting and demonstrating force. Its commonest use, perhaps, is to define an object known to the reader or the listener; and if that be its use in our text, Eve is certainly designated by "the woman," since only she is known in the context. There is, however, another use, not so frequent as that just indicated, yet not uncommon: namely, to define an object known indeed to the speaker or writer, but unknown to the listener or reader; and if that be the sense in our text, then Eve need not be the woman in question, since the meaning then would be "a certain woman." Gesenius-Kautzsch³ lists upwards of fifty examples of such use, as, for instance, "a certain dove" (Gen. 8:7), "a certain young man" (Gen. 18:7), "a certain virgin" (Isa. 7:14), etc. Hence, in so far as the article is concerned, it is possible *a priori* (without considering the context) to translate either "the woman" or "a certain woman," in which latter case Eve would not necessarily be intended.

A second animadversion obviates the necessity of taking the context into consideration. The text is messianic in its literal sense. No Catholic exegete today will deny that the victor over the devil is Christ (exclusively or pre-eminently) in the literal sense. But a literally messianic text, with respect to its context, differs from other texts in a peculiar way. Because of its essentially forward temporal outlook, it may be and often is divorced from its context in so far as its fundamental thought-content is concerned. While rising out of its context, and receiving its peculiar trend or coloring from the context, its mes-

² Jerome's reading *ipsa* is a precious witness to the tradition of Mary as the woman in the text, but is exegetically untenable; it is certain that the pronoun refers to *semen illius*, and should therefore be neuter in Latin.

³ *Hebrew Grammar*, Second English Edition (Cowley), 1910, pp. 407-408.

sage is its own and may be independent of the surrounding passage in which it is found. To cite but one example of what is sufficiently obvious: in the context immediately preceding the prophecy of the Virgin Birth (Isa. 7: 14-16), there is question of a sign, and the prophecy is given as a sign; but the message is a unit to itself, with no essential link binding it to the context. This is so far true that though the definite article is employed with the word "virgin," and though the subsequent context mentions a woman (Isaias' wife), no Catholic exegete attempts to identify the virgin with this woman, as do many non-Catholic writers. It is possible, then, because of the nature of this particular text, that the woman mentioned in Gen. 3:15 may be another than the only woman known in the context.

EVE UNSUITED TO THE RÔLE.

Once we are relieved of the necessity of including Eve in the literal interpretation of the text, her unsuitability as the subject of the prophecy can be viewed in a clearer, more objective light. Careful consideration of the situation portrayed by the context, as well as a more sensitive appreciation of the exigencies of the text, makes it impossible to accept her in the rôle so long assigned to her.

From the antecedent context we gather that a world order, of which Adam had been constituted the head and Eve his helpmate, has been ruined through the wiles of the devil and the co-operation of the first man and woman. God Himself enters upon the scene in judgment; and from *Quia fecisti hoc* (3:14) it is evident that His attention is definitely fixed on that first sin upon earth, and particularly on the devil's part in it. In which direction will His judgment turn with respect to the ruined order? Will He abandon the supernatural order, constituted and now ruined? Will He re-establish our first parents in their state of original justice? Will He establish a wholly new order? As to the first, we know that such a judgment was not passed; nor would such a judgment seem consonant with His dignity and majesty. If there were question of a re-establishment of the broken order through Adam and Eve, it would be difficult enough to interpret *ponam* (אָפִּיחַ) as *reponam*, even without the far more significant fact that Eve and not Adam comes into the text. Consistent Hebrew usage throughout the Old Testament prefers

the male to the female parent in delineating descent. In the special case, moreover, of our first parents, Adam is the divinely constituted head of the race, whom all later Scripture continues to recall while ignoring Eve. Further, we know for a fact that original justice was not re-established in the persons of Adam and Eve, since all humanity continues to inherit the original stain.

But even supposing that a wholly new order must ultimately be expected, is it not possible that Eve has some special connection with it? Such possibility is precluded by the text itself. For whatever the "enmity" may be, it is at least a divine benefaction to be transmitted to the woman's seed, since what is established between the devil and the woman is likewise to exist between his seed and hers. If Eve be "the woman," we cannot legitimately restrict her progeny to Christ alone. Hence, the text would seem to indicate the transmission of a special benefit to succeeding generations, whereas in the existing fact our sole moral inheritance from our first parents is sin. On this point, then, the text would become unintelligible.

When we examine a little more closely the nature of the enmity involved between the devil and the woman, it becomes definitely impossible to consider Eve as the subject of the prophecy. Even could we imagine, against the exigencies of the text, that a mitigated opposition proportioned to Eve's capabilities under the existing circumstances is intended, we come face to face with vague uncertainties which are at variance with the clear-cut precision of the text. We are confronted with one of the most solemn moments in human history, when God expresses Himself briefly and succinctly without human mediation. We must therefore recognize something special in the opposition pronounced by Him. Anything less than the woman's sinlessness for the remainder of her life—especially in view of some of her illustrious descendants—would fail to satisfy the special opposition demanded. But of her sinlessness we have no record, and no knowledge. To suppose it, therefore, is to suppose that which cannot be proved, and which can scarcely be true in the absence of any indication in subsequent history. Moreover, an unlimited opposition is out of the question. There is no reason why Eve alone should receive such an honor; and its absence in Adam's case is proved by our own state on entering into this life.

MARY ALONE THE WOMAN.

Independently of considerations drawn from text and context, a solid suspicion that Mary is the woman intended by God arises from the fact that wherever else in the Old Testament a woman appears in a messianic text, that woman is Mary. Mention of a woman in such texts occurs four times: Gen. 3:15; Isa. 7:14; Jer. 31:22; Mich. 5:3. What extraordinary factor of Eve's career is sufficient to explain her prominence in the first prophecy, yet not sufficient to prevent a total eclipse of her personality from the remainder of the sacred record? At the very moment of this presumed elevation to prominence, she is awaiting the severe penance of centuries of sorrow and pain, which will in fact be meted out without any show of favor or predilection.

But let us leave suspicions for certainty. The enmity to be set up between the devil and the woman must be absolute, to suit the situation, and to justify the manner of its employment in the text. The situation is clear. The devil has just ruined the constituted order of supernatural justice, vitiated humanity at its source and for all succeeding generations to the end of time, and he is now present for judgment precisely because of this crime (v. 14). If the enmity decreed does not ward off from the woman all contact with sin, even original sin, then the devil, in the very moment of his condemnation, emerges with some of his spoils. It is true that the decree respects the future, but when enforced, it should be complete; otherwise a weakness incompatible with the majesty of God is displayed on His part. The devil knows the finality of that decree because of which, through the perversity of Adam's will, Eve's progeny for all time will enter the world in a state of sin. He knows also that he has been successful against Eve's will in the hour of its pristine strength. Hence, to be told that she would be strengthened against his subsequent attacks, and that her progeny would eventually overthrow him, would but slightly wound his self-confidence and would leave him still conscious of triumph. But to be told that there would arise a new woman and a new man in whom he could have no part, a new order beyond his power to destroy and destined to destroy him, would be to declare his present achievement futile. God would be acting with that fullness and absolute finality which had in an instant driven Satan in terror from heaven to hell.

Looking now at the text itself, we notice that while enmity is established both between the devil and the woman and between his seed and hers, the word "enmity" is expressed but once, and implied (or to be supplied) once. Now it is a fundamental rule of grammar in such a case that the implied use be identical with the expressed use. Hence, where the "enmity" is to be supplied as affecting "thy seed and her seed," its meaning is absolute and unlimited, barring also original sin from the woman's seed, because that seed (as we shall presently see) is literally and exclusively Christ. Therefore, the expressed use of the term must be equally absolute in extent. The woman, then, is to be protected from original sin.

Evaluating the phrase *semen tuum*, we again discover how prominent a place original sin holds in the prophecy. The devil's seed has been variously interpreted as being the fallen angels, human sinners, fallen angels and sinners, and sin itself. But the fallen angels are certainly not the seed of the devil, even metaphorically; for, aside from the fact that the Book of Genesis thus far knows nothing of fallen angels, these spirits were Satan's companions in sin rather than his progeny. Nor does any passage of subsequent revelation teach us to regard them as his "seed." Nor may human sinners be so considered. Not only are they actually the seed of Eve, but it is hardly conceivable that God Himself, who uses the expression, would thus assign His rebellious human creatures to the devil, notwithstanding Christ's admonition to the Jews.⁴ In the sense of "sin," however, the term is wholly apposite to the situation. The scene is earthly, and on earth the devil has spawned but one thing, sin, for which he is now receiving sentence. What more obvious interpretation of the text is possible than to understand that God is to raise a barrier against the devil and the sin which he has introduced into the world? Both are to be frustrated and destroyed by a woman and a man, even as Satan himself through his seed has destroyed the first man and woman.

Taken in this sense, *semen tuum* cannot be paralleled with *semen illius* (i. e. of the woman) as understood collectively. It might, on the other hand, confirm the interpretation of *semen illius* as designating an individual person. It might also lend a

⁴ Jn. 8:38-44.

richer appreciation to St. Paul's treatment of ἡ ἀμαρτία, which rises at times to the level of personification.

The phrase *semen illius* requires somewhat closer consideration. The Hebrew word for "seed" (זֶרַע), when used in a physical rather than a metaphorical sense, may signify either a collective progeny or an immediate offspring. Analysing the concept of "seed," it is evident that the primary notion is that of immediate origin from a generative principle. This is the exclusive idea where there is question of an individual seed, and is the primary reason for the validity of the term "progeny" when the extension of the word is expanded to embrace successive subordinate generations; for unless the first member of a line of descendants is literally an immediate offspring of a parent, the progeny as a whole cannot be ascribed to that parent. This analysis is substantiated by the fact that wherever, apart from this text, זֶרַע is used, either in the singular or the plural, of human beings, if the sense is not collective, immediate offspring is always denoted. For instance, in Gen. 4:25 the terms "son" and "seed" are used synonymously of the child given to Eve in substitution for the slain Abel. Again, in 15:3 the same two terms are used synonymously, where subsequently we see (15:13) this fundamental meaning broaden out into that of a progeny. In Lev. 18:21; 20:2, 3, 4; 22:13 we find a plural use which still remains within the fundamental root idea of immediate offspring. If, then, we can conclude that the phrase *semen illius* is used in an individual sense, we are justified in translating it literally as "her son." And if that son is Christ, it is certain that "the woman" is Mary, of whom alone Christ may legitimately be called Son in the natural order.

Hence, for the final link in the chain of evidence to support our contention that Mary alone is the woman intended in the text, we turn to the pronoun *ipsum*. Catholic exegetes agree that *ipsum* refers literally to Christ, either exclusively, or pre-eminently as head of the mystical body. The text and context demand Christ in the exclusive literal sense. The opponent of *ipsum* is certainly an individual; hence, the obvious interpretation of *ipsum* to sustain the parallel (as well as to complete comparison with the first parallel of devil and woman) is as a definite individual. Secondly, only Christ, and He without the help of other creatures, is equal to the complete victory foretold. Third-

ly, the text is messianic, and in no other messianic text is there implication of the mystical body. This idea, as we receive it from St. Paul, seems foreign to the thought of the Old Testament. There the Messiah is a being apart, under whom and around whom the people will gather to be His spoils, captives, adorers, kingdom, etc.—to *have* part with Him, but never to *be* a part of Him. Now and again it is explicitly stated that in His redemptive work He is alone.⁵ Hence, while it is true that in and through Him the mystical body does attain to victory over the devil, it is exegetically illegitimate to force such an idea into the present text. With respect to the context, as we have elsewhere pointed out, there is evident intention to offset the fall of the first man and woman before the devil by the triumph of the new woman and Man.

A further consideration—which is granted to be rather an intangible impression than a definite argument—arises from the prophecies of Isaias, whose loftier levels seem almost a commentary on our text. Beginning in 7:14 with emphasis on the woman (Mary, beyond all doubt), the Prophet directs the emphasis to her Seed in cc. 9 and 11, to portray therein His spirit, power, and universal domination, and to imply (since the prophecies are wholly spiritual) the overthrow of Satan. Finally, his paeon of victory in cc. 52 and 53 announces, with a clarity only eclipsed by the actual fulfillment centuries later, the extent of the prediction *tu insidiaberis calcaneo ejus*. And His is pictured as alone.

Clearly, then, *ipsum* must be understood of an individual. This being so, *semen illius* must be taken in the same sense, since, by the laws of grammar, the pronoun *ipsum* exhausts the full extent of its antecedent. It thus means "son" in the strict sense of the word, and the woman is inescapably Mary, and Mary alone.

The text, if paraphrased, reads simply enough, once cleared of the unnecessary accretions which have been read into it. "I will raise an impenetrable barrier of grace between you and in a New Woman, between your sin and Her Offspring, the New Man. He will defeat you completely, while you inflict upon Him a minor, physical⁶ hurt."

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⁵ E.g. Ps. 21 (22):11; 68 (69):21; Isa. 63:3.

⁶ Because even textually (apart from the metaphysical impossibility arising from His nature) the absolute enmity, which is of the order of grace, precludes any moral harm.

OBSCURITIES IN THE LATIN PSALTER

VII.

40. Psalm 54:20c. (Wednesday, at Terce.)

Non enim est illis commutatio: et non timuerunt Deum.

Divine forbearance fails to bring the Psalmist's persecutors to a better mind. In Hebrew, as in Latin, *commutatio* strikes us as unusual instead of some such term as *conversio*, but does not seem to demand correction of the text. Jerome simply writes, *Non enim mutantur, neque timent Deum.*

41. Psalm 54:22a-b. (Wednesday, at Terce.)

Divisi sunt ab ira vultus ejus: et appropinquavit cor illius.

Again V exactly renders LXX. Very differently Jerome reads, *Nitidius butyro os ejus: pugnat autem cor illius*. This is endorsed by a close parallel in the next two clauses (V): *Molliti sunt sermones ejus super oleum: et ipsi sunt jacula* (22c-d). Yet in a-b Jerome on the one hand, and LXX-V on the other, are both justified by TM when stripped of its vowels. This paradox is due to two ambiguous Hebrew forms.

The first is the leading verb, which, otherwise pointed, could be "they are divided" or "scattered." However, another verb of the same radicals, and pointed as we have it, means "to be smooth" or "slippery." Though plural in TM, Jerome makes it singular as predicate of *os ejus*. If the verb should be plural, it can imply its subject, and *os* may be a verbal accusative: "they are smooth with their mouth." That the Hebrew, after an implied "they," should write "*his* mouth," is not foreign to its ways. Whatever the exact construction, the foe is a deceitful speaker.

In the second ambiguity, *ab ira*, the preposition is capable of various meanings—"from, because of, more than." But the noun which it governs is still more uncertain. The LXX read it as "anger," at the expense of one consonant of TM, which, however, might have been taken for a vowel letter. But this letter, if radical, turns "anger" into "curds," a decidedly "slippery" article of diet. Thus we are equally entitled to translate either "scattered because of anger" or "smooth more than curds."

Contrasting Jerome's *os* with the *vultus* of LXX, the latter's source must have contained one more letter (the narrow and in-

conspicuous *nun*) no longer present in Jerome's Hebrew text, nor in TM today. And Syriac agrees with LXX in this reading.

Thus far the first member. As for *appropinquavit cor illius*, it answers well to TM without the present vowels. But with them we have something more intelligible. The Hebrew verb "approach" often did duty for "attack," and gave birth to a noun meaning only this. The pointing of TM gives us this noun, which is placed as an emphatic predicate before its subject: "But war (like) is his heart."

Zorell prefers *vultus* to *os* in the first clause, translating *Laevior butyro est facies ejus, sed cor pugnax*. But whether we choose "mouth" or "face," at least it seems impossible to retain *Divisi sunt ab ira*. Some such sense as that of Jerome's or Zorell's version is demanded by the parallel of c-d.

42. Psalm 55:7c-8a.

(Wednesday, at Sext.)

Sicut sustinuerunt animam meam, pro nihilo salvos facies illos.

An inept division misleads us here, the first clause properly belonging to 7. There the Psalmist thus describes his enemies' tactics: "They estrange themselves, they skulk; my footsteps they watch, inasmuch as they wait for my life." This last clause is 7c, while in 8a the theme changes to confidence in divine intervention.

But 8a is really hard to clarify. It is evident enough that in *salvos facies illos* LXX-V handled a source identical with TM, though the latter as pointed out has a noun phrase without any verb: "escape" or "deliverance for them." Jerome apparently reads the noun (or infinitive) as a participle, "escaping" or "safe." His version of the whole member is *Qui nullus est salvus in eis*, where *qui* must be the adverb *quâ* instead of a relative pronoun, and the Hebrew "for them" seems to be taken as "pertaining to," and therefore "among them."

But Jerome's *qui nullus* here (and *pro nihilo* in V) brings up a deeper problem. Leaving the connective for the moment, we find *nullus* (or *nihil*) an early root of divergence. Nearly all the ancient versions read a Hebrew word meaning "nothing" in its original substantive force, though generally used as the familiar verbal "is not." Symmachus, on the contrary, agrees with TM in reading (with *wau* for *yod*) another noun meaning either "trouble" or "iniquity." Turning now to the preceding con-

nective, we find it a Hebrew preposition, radically "over" or "upon," with a bewildering brood of idiomatic deflections, such as "according to, about, concerning, respecting," and even with such merely conjunctival values as "because, notwithstanding, although."¹ Something like this adversative use may have inspired Jerome's *qui*.

On the disputed noun many modern authors incline to TM. Thus Brown² translates, "for (their) iniquity weigh to them (retribution)." This, besides correcting "deliverance" to "weigh" by the change of a consonant, and leaving the latter verb without an object, seems rather too pregnant. Zorell, retaining "deliverance," sees in TM the rhetorical question *In (tanta) nequitia—evadere illis licebit?* This is enough to illustrate the difficulty of taking the present Hebrew just as it stands.

Most commentators on the Vulgate (as Bi. Bo. Fi. Ho. Ni.) retain *pro nihilo*, taking the Hebrew as meaning "in respect of nothing," i.e. either "on no account" or "nowise." They are textually supported by the weight of ancient testimony. The objection to this reading is the fact that its obvious construction would force us into rather unusual Hebrew. Yet it has remote parallels; and if the authors of LXX and Syriac, with Aquila and Jerome (in both his versions) adopt it, it must be at least a grammatical possibility. We are therefore entitled to retain *pro nihilo salvos facies illos*, even if we render it (in closer accord with the Hebrew construction), "By no means shall they have deliverance!"

43. Psalm 55:9-10a. (Wednesday, at Sext.)

Deus, *vitam meam annuntiavi tibi*: posuisti lacrimas meas in conspectu tuo, *sicut in promissione tua*: tunc convertentur inimici mei retrorsum.

Jerome's version and the metrical structure of TM attach *Deus* to the end of 8. In the obscurities which then begin, LXX-V are in close accord, while TM varies much on two points, and Jerome holds an interesting middle place. Migne's "scholiast of the (Hebrew) Canon" pays homage to TM by two marginal glosses to Jerome's version:

¹ Cf. Isa. 53:9, "although no outrage had he done."

² Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Lexicon*, p. 812.

- (9) *Secretiora mea [marg. motum meum tu] numerasti,
pone lacrymam meam in conspectu [marg. utre] tuo:
sed non in narratione tua.*
- (10) *Tunc convertentur inimici mei retrorsum,
in quacunque die invocavero:
hoc scio quia Deus meus es [al. tu].*

First, the actual points of divergence. Schleusner thinks *vitam meam* due to a metaphorical "my lamp," read by LXX with *resh* for a *daleth* in TM. In the latter we find "my wandering." Jerome's *secretiora* is difficult, and the scholiast's *motum* records his own preference for "wandering." The governing verb means either "recount" or "note," as if enumerating a series. It is the root of the Hebrew noun for "book," as being primarily an "account" of a series of events. The verb in TM is clearly in the second person, and followed by an emphatic "Thou" besides. The rendering of this last as "to Thee" is as hard to explain as the reading of the verb in first person. Probably the original was "My wandering Thyself hast noted." This befits the occasion stated in the title of the Psalm, "when the Philistines had David in Gath" (1 Kgs. 21:10-15).

Jerome agrees with TM in *pone* for *posuisti*, and the latter is hard to justify. Both again agree in *lacrymam* as singular, though here the Hebrew could be a plural. *In conspectu tuo* after this offers no real difficulty, and is well supported. In fact, the consensus of ancient versions for "in Thy sight" is so strong (cf. Bi.) that we ought to retain it in preference to the curious reading "in Thy (skin-) bottle" of TM, though this is preferred by Zo. and some others.

The second obscure phrase is properly the third member of 9, as Jerome has it. As his *narratione* derives in Hebrew from the same root as *numerasti*, it improves upon *promissione* of LXX-V. The phrase in Hebrew is simply "in Thine account" or "in Thy book." But instead of *sicut* TM has clearly *nonne*, for which Jerome's *sed non* would require the change of one letter. Which is original would be hard to say, but at least TM gives us a better sequence. The second clause intervenes parenthetically between the first and the third. Such an arrangement occurs in Ps. 44:6:

"Thine arrows are sharp,—
people fall beneath Thee!—
(they are) in the heart of the king's foes."

Similarly here, one would read:

"My wandering Thyself hast noted,—
O set my tears before Thee!—
is (it) not told in Thy book?"

Tunc convertentur, etc., proceeds naturally when referred, as it should be, to what follows: "Then will my enemies be turned back, in the day when I shall call."

44. Psalm 56:5b. (Wednesday, at Sext.)

Et eripuit animam meam de medio catulorum leonum:
dormivi conturbatus.

Merely to get that general setting which seems to be original, it may be noted in passing that *eripuit* appears to have intruded, and also to have spoilt a better arrangement, namely:

- (4) "He will send out from heaven and save me
(Who) rebukes them that trample upon me:
God will send forth His mercy and truth.
- (5) "Myself am in the midst of lions,
I lodge (with) the fiery,
men whose teeth are spears and arrows,
and their tongue a sharp sword."

But in repeating our Psalter we need not stick at *eripuit* and its context, so long as *dormivi conturbatus* is cleared up. Each of the two words has suffered from some deflection of its meaning by LXX-V.

The Hebrew original of *dormivi* is not definitely "sleep," but merely "lie down." Its Greek equivalent in LXX does not emphasize actual sleep. But V prefers to render this verb *dormire* wherever it occurs in the Psalms. We have met it before.³ Even in his version of the Hebrew Jerome maintains this practice, writing for our present passage *anima mea in medio leonum dormivit ferocientium*. But the Psalmist would be ill advised to sleep while "lodging" or "spending the night" among the en-

³ Cf. Ps. 4:9, *in idipsum dormiam et requiescam*: "I will at once (both) lie down and rest" (Vol. I, No. 3, p. 248). Also Ps. 40:9b, *qui dormit*: "he who lies abed" (Vol. II, No. 1, p. 67).

vious and suspicious men of Gath. The supplied connective "with" is more necessary to the English idiom than to that of the Hebrew.

Conturbatus represents a Hebrew active participle in the plural, which Jerome fairly supports. The LXX's use of the singular would be hard to explain textually. Retaining the Hebrew plural, we have "blazing" or "flaming ones," a natural metaphor for "fierce," and thus fitly paralleled with "lions." Aside from the singular number, the τεταραγμένος of LXX passes with Schleusner as a (somewhat oblique) translation of the Hebrew word before us, as under the aspect "turbulent, inclined to commotion."

In any case the phrase *dormivi conturbatus* seems to demand correction to some such translation as that suggested above—e. g. *recumbo apud feroces*.

To be continued.

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EXEGETICAL NOTES

SELF-CONTROL (ΣΩΦΡΟΣΤΝΗ)

"It behoveth therefore a bishop to be . . . *prudent* (*prudentem*)."—1 Tim. 3:2.

"For a bishop must be . . . *sober* (*sobrium*)."—Tit. 1:7-8.

"Women . . . adorning themselves with modesty and *sobriety* (*sobrietate*)."—1 Tim. 2:9.

"(Woman) shall be saved through child-bearing: if they continue in faith and love and sanctification with *sobriety* (*sobrietate*)."—1 Tim. 2:15.

"That the aged men be . . . *prudent* (*prudentes*)."—Tit. 2:2.

"The aged women . . . that they may *teach* the young women to be *discreet* (*ut prudentiam doceant*)."—Tit. 2:3-5.

"Instructing us that, denying ungodliness . . . we should live *soberly* (*sobrie*)."—Tit. 2:12.

"I am not mad, most excellent Festus, but I speak words of truth and *soberness* (*sobrietatis*)."—Acts 26:25.

In the above eight examples one Greek word (with its cognates) is rendered by two different Latin words in the Vulgate, and by three English terms in our current recensions of the Douay. This may be the reason why the Christian virtue of σωφροσύνη is obscured in moral and devotional treatises. We say "Christian" virtue because, although σωφροσύνη is mentioned in the Old Testament,¹ in κοινή Greek (with the meaning "discretion"), and in classical books, yet St. Paul makes it a special grace given by the Incarnation, a virtue that should distinguish a Christian from a person who has not received the fruits of the Redemption. We know the passage well from Midnight Mass at Christmas, but I will give it according to the Westminster Version:

For the grace of God hath been manifested unto the salvation of all men, instructing us to reject impiety and worldly lusts, and to live *temperately* and justly and piously in this present world, looking for the blessed hope and manifestation of the glory of our great God and Savior Christ Jesus, who gave himself for us in order that 'he might redeem us from all iniquity and might purify a people to be peculiarly his own,' zealous for good works (Tit. 2:12-14).

What exactly is meant by living "temperately" or "soberly" under the instructing grace of God given to Christians through the Incarnation?

St. Thomas Aquinas, influenced by the Latin version, considered that *sobrietas* had primary reference to moderation in drinking intoxicating liquors, and secondary reference to moderation in general:

¹ E. g. Wis. 8:7; 9:11; 2 Mach. 4:37.

Dicitur enim aliquis sobrius, quasi *briam* (id est mensuram) servans; et ideo illam materiam specialiter sibi sobrietas adscribit, in qua maxime laudabile est mensuram servare. Hujusmodi autem est potus inebriare valens; quia ejus usus mensuratus multum confert. . . . Et ideo specialiter sobrietas attenditur circa potum, non quemcumque, sed eum qui sua fumositatem natus est caput conturbare, sicut vinum, et omne quod inebriare potest. Communiter autem sumendo nomen sobrietatis potest in quacumque materia dici, sicut et supra dictum est de fortitudine, et temperantia (*Summa*, 2a 2ae, 149, art. 1).

"Et ideo sobrietas specialiter est circa potum" (*ibid.* ad 2). And in the fourth article of the same question, after quoting some of the passages from the Pastoral Epistles which we have given above, he remarks:

Unde, secundum Valerium Maximum, mulieres apud Romanos antiquitus non bibebant vinum. . . Vinum autem immoderate sumptum praecipue impedit usum rationis: et ideo senibus, in quibus ratio debet vigere ad aliorum eruditionem, et episcopis, seu quibuslibet Ecclesiae ministris, qui mente devota debent spiritualibus officiis insistere, et regibus, qui per sapientiam debent populum subditum gubernare, specialiter sobrietas indicitur.

The words *cum sobrietate* in 1 Tim. 2:15 he interprets as meaning that women must avoid drunkenness (*crapula*).

But it would seem that the virtue so stressed in the Pastoral Epistles has no special reference to moderation in drink. What St. Paul means us to understand by *σωφροσύνη* is self-control, that stage reached in the spiritual life when self-mastery becomes easy. So clearly has the mind been enlightened by the grace of God, and so surely has the will been moved, that without painful or prolonged effort the soul rules over the body, and an habitual freedom from the tyranny of base desires is gained. The Christian becomes "dead" to sin, so that sin no longer "reigns" in his body; no longer does he obey its lusts, for he lives to God in Christ (cf. Rom. 6:11-12).

There is another Greek work akin to *σωφροσύνη* but with a shade of difference. This is *ἐγκράτεια*, one of the fruits of the Holy Ghost, which we translate *continency* (Gal. 5:23). Regarding especially control over sexual passions, it is more restricted than *σωφροσύνη*, for it supposes effort and a certain amount of difficulty in gaining the mastery.² The subject of continency is dealt with in manuals

² This virtue also suffers in translation: "A bishop must be. . .continent (*continentem*)": Tit. 1:8. "But I say to the unmarried and to widows: It is good for them if they so continue, even as I. But if they do not contain themselves, let them marry (*Quod si non se continent, nubent*)": 1 Cor. 7:8-9. "Everyone that striveth for the mastery refraineth himself from all things (*ab omnibus se abstinet*)": 1 Cor. 9:25. "In knowledge, abstinence (*abstinentiam*)": 2 Pet. 1:6. "About justice and chastity (*castitate*)", St. Paul speaking to Felix and Drusilla: Acts 24:25.

of moral theology and in spiritual books; but how seldom do we find a treatment of the wider virtue of *σωφροσύνη*! Yet it is not too much to say that ignorance or forgetfulness of this virtue is one of the main causes of modern maladies. In child-education today self-expression is encouraged and self-control is not esteemed. True, there are external rules but there is no instruction in self-discipline. No wonder sexual gratification is sought at an early age! In all Christian schools *σωφροσύνη* should be taught time and time again, kindly, yet forcibly and impressively, as something that should distinguish Christian children from modern pagans, something that they should be proud to cultivate, something that the Sacrament of Confirmation will help them to develop, something that, when they grow up, will give them a dignity and self-respect that cannot tolerate the idea of being a pawn in a communist, totalitarian or pagan state.

And if this virtue must find a place in the education of children, how much more is its instruction necessary in the seminary! Listen to the present Holy Father:

The priestly ministry requires, I may say, particular sacrifices from you, the chief of which is the total sacrifice of oneself through celibacy in homage to Christ. Examine yourselves! And if any think they are unequal to observing it, We implore them to leave the seminary and betake themselves elsewhere to lead an honest and useful life, which if spent in the sanctuary would not be free from danger to eternal salvation and disgrace to the Church. And We exhort those who already live in the priestly state or are about to enter it to devote themselves to it whole-heartedly. Take care not to be outstripped in this generosity by so many of the faithful, who today patiently suffer the worst for the glory of God and the faith in Jesus Christ; but outshine all by your example in this combat, and by your work and devotion obtain for yourselves and for all divine grace in life and in death (*Allocution to Seminarists*, July 12th, 1939).

The student who enters the seminary with a spiritual character already formed on the basis of that control and mastery which the Pastoral Epistles demand of all Christians, will, by further grace from God, find himself equal to accepting those sacrifices, including celibacy, to which the Supreme Pastor refers.

Not only in Holy Orders but in Matrimony also *σωφροσύνη* is necessary. Let us examine the text of 1 Tim. 2:15: "(Woman) shall be saved through child-bearing, if they continue in faith and love and sanctification with *σωφροσύνη*." On account of the Greek article before "child-bearing" some non-Catholic commentators have revived an idea that the reference is to the Child-bearing of Mary, the Mother of the Savior. This would imply that Eve, by her transgression (see verse 14), brought the curse of painful child-bearing, but that Mary (the second Eve) undid this curse by her conformity to God's will in

consenting to become the mother of the Savior; hence after the Incarnation the bearing of children has become a source of salvation. This would be in some measure a Pauline anticipation of the teaching of St. Irenaeus of Lyons.³ The thought may have been in St. Paul's mind, but the foremost idea would seem to be that women shall be saved by the child-bearing mentioned in Gen. 3:16—for Eve and her daughters before the Incarnation, a thing of pain and sorrow, but now for Christian mothers a joyful source of salvation.

"If they continue." The Latin *si permanserit* and Challoner's "if *she* continue" must give way to the plural of the Greek (and Douay, ed. 1600) text. But who are meant by "they"? St. Jerome⁴ and several Latin and Greek writers think that "they" are the children, but it seems hardly likely that "continue" would be used when new born babes are in mind; nor can we quite imagine that the Apostle would make the children's continuance in faith and love and sanctification a condition of the salvation of the mother. Hence modern commentators say that "they" refers either to women in general or to the husband and wife. I am inclined to think that the latter is correct. It gives the best sense; and the Apostle has just spoken of the woman and the man, and of Adam and Eve (verses 12-13); cf. 1 Pet. 3:7.

Women then shall be saved through child-bearing, provided that husband and wife continue "in faith and love and sanctification, with *σωφροσύνη*." "Faith" and "love" may denote the theological virtues; but it is not improbable that marital fidelity and conjugal love are meant. "Sanctification," as St. Thomas points out, reminds us of the passage in 1 Thess. 4 where, contrasting Christian purity with pagan lust, St. Paul tells us that "God hath not called us to uncleanness, but to *sanctification*."

Finally, husband and wife must exercise *σωφροσύνη*. Where does this self-control find a place in married life? Surely, it is the corrective to "birth control." It means that in the use of marriage there must be moderation and restraint. Not "birth control," but self-control. Recently a Catholic English weekly paper published a series of photographs (some not altogether charming) of families distinguished for large progenies. All honor to these heroic fathers and mothers! But it would be false to imagine that the Church encourages the ideal of one baby every year. Christian prudence, economic, housing and other considerations demand attention. Even if the present iniquitous social and industrial system were remedied, self-control would still remain a virtue in married life.⁵ Both in Sacred

³ See *Dem. Apost. Praed.* c. 33; *Adv. Haer.*, 3, 22; 5, 19.

⁴ *Contra Jovin.*, 1, 27; *Letters*, 79, 107.

⁵ 1 Cor. 7:5 cannot be adduced to the contrary. Here St. Paul is answering particular questions addressed to him by his converts in the licentious

Scripture and among the saints are to be found families in which offspring was not frequent. Woman shall be saved through child-bearing, but there must be a measure of control. And to obtain this virtue it must be known, prayed for and exercised, in its wide sense, from early childhood.

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city of Corinth. He does not define the "time" limit agreed upon by husband and wife for abstention from the marriage act; nor does he *command* them to come together again. He advises resumption where there is absence of *σωφροσύνη*, viz. *ἀκρασία*, rightly translated in the Westminster Version "for your incontinency."

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CORNER

TELEILAT GHASSUL

About three miles east of the lower Jordan and three and one-half miles north of the Dead Sea, there is a group of hillocks known to the Arabs as Teleilat Ghassul. While exploring the region in January 1929, Father Alexis Mallon, S.J., Superior of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Jerusalem, noticed ancient potsherds and pieces of polished flint scattered over the surface of these low mounds. Believing that ruins of some importance lay beneath the sands, he obtained from the Transjordan Department of Antiquities the necessary permission authorizing the Pontifical Biblical Institute to excavate the site. Through the generosity of an American family, it became possible to begin the work in November of the same year. Father Mallon was the first director, and in his first season of excavation he had the able assistance of M. René Neuville.

The site became famous almost overnight by reason of world-wide press and radio reports, which announced that the ashes of Sodom and Gomorrha had been discovered beneath the sands northeast of the Dead Sea. Apparently there was real news value in whatever might be found relating to the terrible fate of those wicked cities. Fr. Mallon, however, felt that the identification was premature. Nothing as yet had been uncovered that could certainly identify the ruins with any one of the five cities in the Pentapolis to which Sodom and Gomorrha belonged.

As the prevailing view placed the Pentapolis to the south of the Dead Sea or in the shallow waters at its southern end, there was a re-examination of the biblical and other relevant texts to determine if these would permit a northern location. Father E. Powers, S.J., of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, published a long article in *Biblica* favoring a location to the north of the Dead Sea. Other members of the Institute and many of their pupils wrote in favor of the same view. Here in the United States, priests were made familiar with the theory of a northern Pentapolis from the pages of *The Ecclesiastical Review* and of *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review*. The Dominicans of Jerusalem, however, opposed the view and brought out their "heavy artillery" to demolish it. As in all controversies between groups of able men, every piece of available evidence was marshalled forward by the respective sides, and other students of the question generally profited by the encounter.

There is no longer a question of identifying the ruins of Teleilat Ghassul with any of the cities of the Pentapolis. Father Robert Köp-pel, S.J., who has been directing the excavations since the lamented death of Fr. Mallon in 1934, now admits with most Palestinian

archaeologists that Teleilat Ghassul was destroyed and finally abandoned sometime in the fourth millennium B.C., or more than a thousand years before Sodom and Gomorrha met their fate. Regarding the theory of a northern Pentapolis, Father Köppel has not written recently.

Even though Teleilat Ghassul did not prove to be one of the cities of the Pentapolis, the results thus far have been important. At no other site has so much material been found pertaining to what is now generally called the chalcolithic (copper-stone) period of culture, and archaeologists are watching keenly the progress of the excavations. The Pontifical Biblical Institute is proceeding most carefully with the work, and making the results of its labors accessible to scholars as quickly as possible. Pius XI, recognizing the value of the discoveries for the study of early civilization, contributed generously towards the continuance of the project.

For want of a better terminology, archaeologists still speak of stone, bronze, and iron ages. Each age is divided into early, middle, and late periods, with further subdivisions into various phases. In addition to stone, bronze, and iron, other factors such as pottery forms and building techniques are considered in the classification. Recently, the term chalcolithic has come into general use to cover a long transition from the stone age to the bronze age properly so-called. In this transition period, copper and bronze (copper alloyed with tin) along with various pottery forms were developed, and the stone utensils gradually went out of use. In the present state of knowledge regarding the matter, the chalcolithic culture is believed to have extended over the greater part of the fourth millennium B.C.

The Ghassulian material, although classified at first as early bronze age ware and dated about 2000 B.C. in its latest phases, is now considered to be distinctly chalcolithic and to be placed before 3000 B.C. It must be remembered, however, that when the first discoveries were made at Teleilat Ghassul, comparatively little was known about the early bronze age period and practically nothing about what is now called chalcolithic. Prof. Albright was the first to consider the Ghassulian finds as ante-dating early bronze ware, and he placed its last phases in the second half of the fourth millennium B.C. More recently, he would place it in the first half of that millennium, or even earlier. Subsequent discoveries at Jericho, Bethshan, Megiddo and elsewhere have revealed material with Ghassulian affinities in the strata below early bronze age remains. Since early bronze age forms came into vogue about 3000 B.C. according to present conjectures in archaeological circles, Father Köppel now accepts fourth millennium dating for the last phases of the Ghassulian culture. How much earlier the first phase may have been, can only be determined by

further excavations and comparison with the materials at other sites. Trial pits and trenches at Teleilat Ghassul have revealed four levels of occupation, and thus far only the fourth or top level has been uncovered in Tell 1 and Tell 3.

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EDWARD A. CERNY, S.S.

BIBLICAL NEWS

The annual meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association of America will be held in Toronto, Canada, August 27 and 28.

According to present plans the Revision of the New Testament will appear in the early part of 1941. Work on the Revision of the Old Testament is going forward steadily. Several of the revisors have completed all or part of their assignment. Plans are also being made to print the minor prophets in order to elicit criticism of the work.

The Reverend Dr. William L. Newton, S.S.D., professor of Sacred Scripture at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., is the author of two small volumes of Biblical History. The books, "Old Testament History," and "New Testament History" were published recently by W. H. Sadlier, Inc. New York. They are chiefly intended for grammar school pupils of the upper grades.

Last March many schools and colleges throughout the country celebrated the five hundredth anniversary of the invention of printing by John Gutenberg. St. Bonaventure's College of Allegheny, New York, prepared a special edition of The St. Bona Venture, commemorating the event. Exhibits depicting the story of printing were on display in the Friedsam Memorial Library during the four days of the celebration. Among the exhibits there were several specimens of the Codex Carafianus, which is being consulted by the revisors of the Old Testament.

The Holy Office has condemned and placed on the Index of Prohibited Books the following works of Edmund Fleg: "The Boy Prophet," and "Jesus Related by the Wandering Jew." These must be held as proscribed by the Codex of Canon Law. Among other things the author denies the divinity and Messiahship of Christ, and seems to vindicate for himself the glory of the messianic work in the world today. He likewise attempts to justify the attitude of the Jews towards Christ, and in order to accomplish his purpose he does not hesitate to condemn Christians and interpret the Gospel History in his own way.

His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, has appointed the following as Consultors of the Biblical Commission: The Reverend D. Ermengildus Florit, Professor of Sacred Scripture at the Lateran Seminary; The Reverend Arnoldus Van Lantschoot, O. Praem., a prominent scholar and writer attached to the Vatican Library; The Reverend Athanasius Miller, O.S.B., Professor of Sacred Scripture at the International Col-

lege of St. Anselm's, Rome, Italy, and The Reverend Antonio Casamassa, O.S.A., Professor of Patrology at the Lateran Seminary and the Urban College de Propaganda Fide.

At the close of the scholastic year of 1938 the Biblical Commission invited Seminarians and theological students to participate in a biblical contest. Two themes were assigned, namely, "Did St. Ignatius of Antioch Know the Fourth Gospel?" and "Charity Towards our Neighbor in the Old Testament." Due to unforeseen circumstances, the contest was suspended last fall until further notice. However, sixteen dissertations had already been submitted to the Commission, and it is interesting to note that eight of these came from United States, three from France, three from Holland, one from England, and one from Slovakia.

During the past few months death has claimed several prominent scripture scholars in Europe. On February 18, The Reverend P. Paul Joüon, S.J., died at Nantes. Fr. Joüon is renowned for his many contributions to Biblical Periodicals, and particularly for his *Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique* published at Paris in 1923. He also intended to publish a Hebrew-Aramaic Lexicon, but was forced to give up the work on account of ill health. This work, however, is being continued by a professor of the Biblical Institute.

On December 5, 1939, The Reverend Louis Pirot, professor of Sacred Scripture at the Catholic University of Lille, France, passed away. Since 1935 Fr. Pirot was a Consultor of the Biblical Commission. He is likewise known for his numerous scholarly contributions in the field of Sacred Scripture, particularly, his commentaries on the Gospels according to Saint Mark and Saint John.

The Reverend Giuseppe Balestri, O.S.A., a Consultor of the Biblical Commission, died on April 29. Fr. Balestri was one of the first whom Leo XIII appointed to serve on the Biblical Commission in 1903. In 1904 he edited *SS. Bibliorum Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica Musei Borgiani*, and in 1907-08, in collaboration with the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Hyvernât of the Catholic University of America he published a work entitled *Acta Martyrum*. His last work, *Biblicae Introductionis Generalis Elementa*, published in 1932, is chiefly known for its treatment of textual criticism and the ancient versions.

CHARLES H. PICKAR, O.S.A.

BOOK REVIEWS

A. ROBERT and A. TRICOT, editors, *Initiation Biblique*, Introduction à l'étude des Saintes Ecritures (Tournai: Desclée & Cie, 1939). Pp. xxii, 834. \$3.00.

Multum in parvo. Eight hundred pages are really a small compass for such a wealth of material. There is scarcely an item of worth in introduction to the Bible that is not discussed at least cursorily in this volume. It is published under the direction of MM. Robert and Tricot, professors at the *Institut catholique de Paris*, in collaboration with twenty-six other scholars well known in the scriptural field. The authors intend simply "to present the principal problems in a synthetic and quick fashion, to sketch the present state of the exegetic science, to give a general survey of the results reached, to reveal the import of the research under way, and to show what it points to."

After classifying the books of the Bible, the doctrines of inspiration and inerrancy are briefly but clearly presented. The treatment of the formation and fixation of the canon is somewhat involved and leaves the mind confused. Short chapters deal with the languages of the Bible and with the forms and material of writing. There follows a concise introduction to the various books such as might be used as prefaces in editions of the Bible. The origin, occasion, authenticity, and content are generally treated, although some of these points are occasionally omitted, e.g., the authenticity of the epistles. Sixty pages are devoted to the important question of the variety of literary form in the Old and New Testaments. This work of the two editors is a real contribution to books of introduction. Scholars will regret the brevity of the next section on the transmission of the text by His Eminence Cardinal Tisserant and the late Père Lagrange. But then this book was not intended primarily for scholars. There is some repetition in the subsequent chapter on the versions which were touched upon from the point of view of transmission in the previous chapter. The chapter on interpretation is concerned principally with the history of exegesis. In this history we unfortunately find rather a list of the works produced than a discussion of the methods employed. The rules of hermeneutics and the senses of scripture, although only one-fifth of the chapter, are well presented.

Parts four to seven, covering 275 pages, are devoted to geography and history. Here we find first a summary treatment of the physical and political geography of Palestine, ethnography, archaeology, and chronology of both testaments. The history of the Jewish people is traced from Abraham to Herod the Great. The life of Christ and the history of the apostolic age are prefaced by a picture, rather elaborate for an introduction, of the political and religious background found

in the Jewish world at the time of Christ and the apostles. The uniformity in this section, though not perfect, is remarkable in consideration of the variety of authors.

The final 180 pages deal directly with the religious element. There are chapters on the religions of Egypt, of Asia, and of the Greco-Roman world. Then the development of dogma in the Old Testament is set forth as a progressive revelation which makes the same pure light more and more brilliant, as a preparation for the incarnation of the true Light. The theology of the New Testament is treated synthetically under such titles as faith, the kingdom of God, the Son of God, eternal life, the holy Eucharist, the body of Christ, sin, redemption, Baptism, etc. The closing pages show the part played by Holy Writ in the Christian life: its use in theology, in piety, and in art.

This is not a text-book. The material is presented horizontally, not vertically. The various points are worded in complete running sentences and not in the style of telegraphic analysis. Paragraphs are sufficiently numerous, but numbered divisions are reduced to a minimum even in the outlines of the content of the books. This is not always an advantage. The book appears as something to be read rather than studied. This feature will attract many though the reading will be somewhat heavy, if study has not previously been made.

There are no illustrations, but there are attached eight maps with little detail, and a lengthy chronological table in four parts extensible beyond the text, and an excellent index.

The book will undoubtedly receive a wide circulation in spite of the troublous times. Whoever acquires it will acquire *multum in parvo*.

EDWARD H. DONZÉ, S.M.

ERIC LINKLATER, *Judas* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1939). Pp. 243. \$2.00.

This very readable, and sometimes vivid, novel might fit into the class known as "historical novels," or that more modern *genre*, the "psychological novel." It tells the story of the last week of Judas' life, but essays an explanation of his fall from intimacy with our Lord to the rôle of betrayer. It finds Judas a sincere follower of Jesus until this last week of his life, and attributes his lapse to a natural timidity which grew to distracting fear. This explanation is not convincing. The reader feels this from the start. The author almost completely disregards the facts available in the Gospels, and one wonders how a conclusion can be drawn without these. Then the dress of the story is altogether too modern: the language of the crowd, profanity included, is what one might expect from our gangland; the emotions are those that might be found stimulated by the excitement of our own times.

There is much liberty granted the novelist dealing with the facts and characters of an historical theme, for his aim is not history but admittedly romance. When the subject, however, is biblical, this liberty must be used with discretion. The average reader is too conversant with the general features of biblical stories to enjoy what he might consider tampering. And Mr. Linklater has certainly tampered with the story of Judas.

WILLIAM L. NEWTON.

A. G. BARROIS, O.P., *Manuel d'archéologie biblique*, Tome I (Paris: Éditions Auguste Picard, 1939). Pp. viii, 521, with 199 illustrations in the text and a separate map. 85 fr.

In 1935, Father Barrois prepared for the *Bibliothèque catholique des sciences religieuses* an interesting brochure entitled *Précis d'archéologie biblique*. Its dozen brief chapters summarized the principal archaeological facts referring to the ancient civilizations of Palestine. Utilizing the general outline of the *Précis*, he attempts a more detailed synthesis in the *Manuel*. Such a synthesis is indeed timely. A vast amount of material has been uncovered by Palestinian archaeologists, and it needs to be set in its proper perspective. Fr. Barrois, with his ten years of experience at the *École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem*, is admirably fitted to undertake the work. Although no longer in Jerusalem, he has kept in touch with his confrères there, and has availed himself of their help from the field. His teacher, Fr. H. Vincent, O.P., had published *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* in 1914, a synthesis of the facts then available. Fr. Barrois expands that synthesis to include all new material to date.

The archaeological facts under consideration are classified by Fr. Barrois into four groups, relating respectively to (a) habitation, (b) production, (c) society, and (d) religion. The first volume, treating (a) and (b), was published recently. If not delayed by the war, the second volume may appear before the end of the present year.

Volume I begins with a valuable introduction of 73 pages, treating the object and methods of biblical archaeology, the chronology involved, the periods covered, and the present state of Palestinian excavations with the organizations sponsoring them. The first chapter gives a good picture of ancient nomadic life. Then follow six chapters discussing settled habitation in villages and cities. The architectural technique employed, the plans of fortifications, the water supply, the various types of housing, and the general lay-out of cities receive full treatment.

The last five chapters are concerned with productional activities. There is a very interesting chapter devoted to rural activities, in which are examined the general conditions of agriculture and the

cereals raised; the milling and baking processes employed; the culture of olives and the extraction of oil; the culture of grapes and the making of wine; garden vegetables; livestock, poultry, and bees; and something about ancient hunting and fishing. Another chapter discusses the utensils and ornaments of stone, bone, and various metals. Pottery, which looms so large in archaeological discussions, receives full treatment. Another interesting chapter is devoted to the textiles; their weaving, cleaning, and dyeing; and the clothes into which they were made. The last chapter discusses the decorative arts.

The book is interestingly written and well illustrated. It will be a godsend to anyone trying to orientate himself in the complicated materials of biblical archaeology, and the second volume will be eagerly awaited. Although the *Manuel* will possess a unity of its own, it must be remembered that the *Storia d'Israele* of Canon Riciotti (Torino, 1932-34) in its French adaptation by Father Auvray of the Oratory (*Histoire d'Israël*, Paris, 1939) is a complementary work. Both works are worth the reader's attention. Recently, Father Barrois was appointed visiting professor in the Oriental Department of the Catholic University of America, and we welcome both Fr. Barrois and his excellent *Manuel* to American shores.

E. A. CERNY, S.S.

NELSON GLUECK, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine III* (Annual A.S.O.R., Vols. XVIII-XIX for 1937-1939).

Dr. Glueck, Director of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, has made a positive contribution to archaeology by his survey of Eastern Palestine. In his explorations the author visited over three hundred and fifty sites extending from the Gulf of 'Aqabah northward through the various biblical kingdoms of Edom, Moab, and 'Ammon to the northern boundary of South Gilead. The real value of Dr. Glueck's archaeological data garnered from his survey in these regions is appreciated when we realize that in a few years many of the sites will be obliterated due to the modern quarrying operations being surreptitiously carried on at ancient stone villages and fortifications, while in other places the plough and modern occupancy, along with erosion, will prevent certain identification. The entire book offers a splendid background for biblical scholars interested in many phases connected with the Books of the Old Testament. Considerable praise is due to the author for the thoroughness of his explorations, (even though not exhaustive), despite the difficulties of travel and climate.

The report is divided into two main parts, viz. 1) Edom and Moab, and 2) South Gilead and 'Ammon, with a short section at the end

devoted to the pottery finds of the expedition. This division is somewhat too general and might be proportioned into various subdivisions to lend greater clarity, and also relieve the monotony of material description and measurements.

Of particular interest to biblical scholars in the first part is the author's identification of Tell el-Kheleifeh with Ezion-geber: Elath (the subsequent excavations of the A.S.O.R. at Tell el-Kheleifeh offer satisfactory evidence to substantiate Dr. Glueck's identification), and the line of fortifications on the southern boundary of Moab, showing how Moses was forced to proceed to the east of this kingdom in his northward journey to the Promised Land.

In his conclusions to the first part, Dr. Glueck stresses the importance of the Nabataeans, who, migrating from the east, drove out the Edomites and subsequently extended their kingdom to the northern borders of Moab, while from 85 B.C. on until their incorporation into a Roman province, they controlled large sections of southern Syria, especially around Damascus. Dr. Glueck's work on the Nabataean civilization, particularly his excavations at Khirbet et-Tannûr, opened up new channels of knowledge concerning these people, who hitherto were known mostly from the explorations at Petra. One wonders whether he does not stress the importance of the Nabataean culture to the detriment of the other cultures found in Edom and Moab. Special emphasis is placed by the author on the agricultural activity of the Nabataeans to show that these people cannot be considered as engaged primarily in trade. To illustrate this fact, the explorer points to the representations of the fertility deities found in the Nabataean temple at Khirbet et-Tannûr. However, such evidence merely warrants an emphasis on agriculture during the later stages of the Nabataean culture, while trade and the herding of flocks was of primary importance in their rise to power.

The part devoted to 'Ammon and South Gilead shows that here a greater number of Bronze Age sites were discovered than in Edom and Moab. South of the Wâdi Zerqâ (River Jabbok), the Bronze Age civilization extends mainly from Early Bronze IV to Middle Bronze I (c. 2300-2000 B.C.), although some sites along the Wâdi Zerqâ extend to Middle Bronze II. However no permanent sites of any importance belonging to the Late Bronze period were found, thus manifesting a lapse of over five hundred years between Middle Bronze II and Early Iron. The collection of Early Bronze pottery from these regions south of the Wâdi Zerqâ testifies to the substantial uniformity of this period throughout the whole of Palestine.

The relation of archaeology to biblical studies is apparent in Dr. Glueck's defining the boundaries of the Amorite kingdom under Sihon. His conclusions relative to the territory conquered by the Israelites in

effecting an entrance to Palestine appear valid, but his discussion should be supplemented by maps to define concisely the borders between 'Ammon and Sihon's kingdom. This work of Dr. Glueck would be even more valuable for biblical scholars had he provided an index of scriptural texts.

The section devoted to pottery is good but an arrangement of specimens in the plates according to type, as is done in the text, would facilitate their study.

The conclusion at the end of the book enables the reader to see at a glance the principal results obtained from Dr. Glueck's valuable survey.

J. W. MURPHY, S.J.

FLEMING JAMES, *Personalities of the Old Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939). Pp. xvi, 632. \$3.00.

The approach to the history of Israel through a study of its main characters has the approval of both ancient and modern usage. In fact it might be considered the approach of the Bible itself. From Adam to Joseph, and from Moses to Judas Maccabeus, we are introduced to the unfolding of the divine plan through the great men who served as God's human agents. Profane sources of ancient history are largely of this same type, the records of great kings and leaders. Modern biblical literature abounds in such studies. The method is unusually rich in interest, giving as it does a human touch to what otherwise might be rather dead material.

Fleming James has adopted this method in its best form and has applied it with studied skill. With each character, from Moses to the author of the Book of Daniel, he follows a uniform treatment. He first evaluates the biblical sources, accepting and rejecting the given text generally on a rather conservatively critical basis. Then he studies the individual together with the circumstances of his time, whether these be learned from the Bible or from profane sources. Finally he passes judgment on the contribution made by the person either to the national or the religious development of Israel.

The book is enriched greatly by the excellent motive which inspired it. This motive is expressed in a foreword by Julius A. Bewer: to make use of the results of modern critical and historical method in securing more accurately the real spiritual values of the Old Testament. This effect is felt necessary because of the harm done by modern methods in making people read the Bible as they do other literature. It is expressed much better by the author himself in a concluding word in which he confesses that for him the history of Israel is the unfolding of a divine plan.

The history of Israel is by no means the easiest phase of Old Testament interpretation. It is rendered particularly difficult when the

author, as Fleming James in this instance, has to face not only the criticism of the biblical account, but also make his way through conflicting and confusing modern rationalistic comment. Modern critical methods, whether literary or historical, have contributed much to the study of Israel's history; but in the hands of a rationalist, they have also done great harm. Many a good point in their work carries along with it one that is bad. The criticism of the critic has become a modern necessity if modern methods are to have a true and lasting value. Our author succeeds rather well in preserving his conservatism in spite of his heavy reliance on those whom he designates "the scholars." And if there is any defect in the book, it is due to his failure to make the proper distinction between what is good and what is bad in their guidance. Some of this will be found in each of the three phases of the author's plan.

In evaluating the biblical sources, he is not always satisfactory. In general he adopts what is acceptable to the conservative critic, but not always. Where choice is made on his own part the reasons are almost always subjective, and hence of little worth. In delineating the various characters the author has lost sight of the fact that a supernatural influence was at work in them. One sees the man rather clearly, but the hand of God is seldom evident. In estimating the significance of the personalities for Israel's history and religion, the author is most under the power of that rationalism whose evil he aims to correct. Amos, for example, was a prophet of doom; Ecclesiastes was a "pessimist"; Jeremias was too subjective, not to say egotistic. In short, the weakest part of the book is this final estimate of the personalities; and it is so because the author himself has been injured by rationalistic criticism.

Consistency is not one of the virtues of the book. This can be illustrated well by the author's attitude towards miracles (pp. 13ff). Miracles, he allows, are possible, but highly improbable; and he does not seem to reflect upon the consequences of this teaching for the credibility of the Bible. Again, he understands Isa. 53 as referring to Israel as the "Servant" ("the traditional Jewish interpretation"! p. 387); and yet, with some sentiment, he describes His personality as realized in Christ.

One wonders if this noble and diligent essay will have its desired effect.

WILLIAM L. NEWTON.

CHARLES WILLIAMS, *The Descent of the Dove* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939). Pp. 245. \$2.50.

The author first intended as title of this book *A History of Christendom*; the present subtitle *A Short History of the Holy Spirit in the Church* reflects better his purpose and meaning of the book. *The*

Descent of the Dove is a sketchy though not a lucid account of Christendom from the point of view of Modernism. Exegetical discussions bearing on the phenomena of Pentecost or other references to the Holy Spirit in the New Testament are wanting. From the Catholic point of view one cannot characterize the content of this book as *A Short History of the Holy Spirit in the Church*.

CHARLES G. HEUPLER, O.F.M.CAP.

SAMUEL BELKIN, *Philo and the Oral Law* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940). Pp. xiv, 292, \$3.50.

As the author remarks in the preface, the philosophy, allegorism, and mysticism of Philo, that versatile Jewish genius of Alexandria, have been the subject of intense interest to eminent scholars throughout the ages, whilst his knowledge of the Jewish law has not received the attention which it deserves. To supply this want the author has made a scholarly analysis of Philo's teaching on the essential laws of Judaism. His purpose is twofold: to expound Philo's doctrine and to show its relation to the ancient traditional interpretation of the Palestinian doctors, known as the Oral Law of Halakah. Hence he compares Philo's exegesis of the Mosaic Law with that of the Rabbinic sources, such as the Midrashim, the Mishnah, the two Talmuds, and the Tosefta. He also considers the Apocrypha, Josephus, and the New Testament. His conclusion is that most of the material in Philo's explanation of the Law has its origin in Palestinian sources which are found in the Tannaitic literature. His laborious, exhaustive, and discerning examination of the evidence throws new light not only on Philo and the Alexandrian Jews, but also on many phases of Palestinian Judaism.

The Scriptural student, who cannot be indifferent to the study of Judaism, will find this painstaking investigation both valuable and interesting. The subjects treated are: the temple ritual and the priesthood, civil and criminal law, oaths and vows, the judiciary and the calendar, the family and sexual morality. The author handles each one of them capably, with copious references to the sources and the pertinent literature. We shall confine ourselves to mentioning a few points which made a more striking impression upon us. He is at great pains to prove that the Jewish doctors of the Law did not countenance lynching, but he admits that persons guilty of certain heinous crimes could be killed without process of law. The Rabbinic teaching on the obligations of oaths and vows is an interesting example of casuistry which is at times over subtle. In the course of his chapter on the oaths and vows the author provides us with an intelligent discussion of two knotty texts of the New Testament: Mk. 7:9-13 which records the shabby trick by which filial obligations

were evaded, and Mt. 23:16-22 which describes the attitude of the Pharisees towards certain types of oaths. Students of the gospel will also derive useful information from the section relating to betrothal, marriage, and divorce. The author explodes the popular idea that the school of Shammai permitted divorce only for adultery. It is noteworthy that the Talmud considers the marriage between an Israelite and a Gentile woman as invalid, that their children are not deemed Jews, and that their status is inferior to that of bastards.

The author is guilty of a few minor inaccuracies in the interpretation of Biblical texts. Mary did not go to the hill country to avoid local criticism but to assist her cousin Elizabeth (p. 247). In Mt. 19:4-9 Jesus does not permit divorce if this term is taken to imply the right to remarry (p. 231).

MICHAEL J. GRUENTHNER, S.J.

FRANK MORISON, *And Pilate Said* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940). Pp. 275. \$2.75.

During the past year biographies of several biblical characters have appeared on the market. Among them Frank Morison's new study of the Roman procurator, Pontius Pilate, deserves to be mentioned as one of the best. Aside from the usual encyclopedic articles on Pilate no one within recent years has undertaken to present a complete biography of the man who condemned our Lord to death. Historically, little is known of Pilate outside of the New Testament and the writings of Philo and Josephus Flavius. But the author's keen analysis and zeal for the truth manifest his ability to deal with the known facts of the procurator's life. In particular, his use of Sacred Scripture is to be commended. Today, many who attempt to write the lives of biblical characters too often neglect or interpret according to their own prejudices the evidence presented by the Bible. The author does not offend seriously on this point. His conclusions, however, are not entirely new or startling; for the most part he is simply settling to his own satisfaction biblical problems which have been discredited or denied by scholars of the modern school of biblical criticism, such as, for example, Dr. Eisler.

Among other things there is an interesting discussion on the aqueducts constructed by Pilate from Jewish resources. Whether or not his conclusions are accurate in every detail still remains to be seen. But, at least it is a step in the right direction. This section of the book has particularly good diagrams and plans.

There are, however, a few blemishes in the work: for example, St. Mark was not the first to write a Gospel, and neither did St. Matthew write his Gospel about the year 70. Again, the author's concept of Christ as the Messiah is not altogether accurate. According to his view, there was a time when our Saviour thought that the two incom-

patibilities, the political and the spiritual, could be united (p. 186), but he gave up the spiritual Messiahship on account of the frustration it involved apart from the political element.

Finally, a postscript discusses the various appearances of Christ after his resurrection; their historical accuracy is admitted and defended by the author. But Mr. Morison's reference to them as supernatural events (i.e., events which are beyond the present range of logical explanation), seems to be nothing more than an effort to avoid the use of the term supernatural.

CHARLES H. PICKAR, O.S.A.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D., LITT.D. *Readings From the Apocrypha* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939). Pp. xiv, 180. \$1.50.

For the most part this volume consists of selections from the deuterocanonical books and parts of the Old Testament. Besides these there are a few passages from the I and II Books of Esdras, and the Prayer of Manasses. In a brief introduction the author explains the religious, historical, and literary value of these books.

The translations are based upon A. Rahlfs' edition of the Septuagint, and as far as possible, the author has followed the Revised Version. Occasionally, however, he differs from the latter where there are variant readings in the Greek manuscripts. Selections from Ecclesiasticus are made from the Hebrew text published by R. Smend (1906), and those of II Esdras are translated from the Latin text published by R. S. Bensly (1895).

The chief value and use of these selections will be found in the footnotes and general remarks which accompany each passage.

CHARLES H. PICKAR, O.S.A.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Some of these may be reviewed in subsequent issues)

The Macmillan Company, New York, N. Y.:

Christianity Goes to Press. By EDGAR J. GOODSPEED. 1940. Pp. 115. \$1.50.

The Gospel of the Kingdom. By FREDERICK C. GRANT. 1940. Pp. xvii, 204. \$2.00.

P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York, N. Y.:

Mary of Nazareth. By VINCENT McNABB, O.P. 1940. Pp. xv, 132. \$1.35.

Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Michigan:

A Commentary on Exodus. By HERMAN J. KEYSER, B.D. 1940. Pp. xv, 451. \$3.50.

Catholic Campaigners for Christ Publishers, Boston, Mass.:

Jewish Panorama. By DAVID GOLDSTEIN, LL.D. 1940 Pp. 394. \$3.00.

Rumble and Carty, Radio Replies, St. Paul, Minn.:

The Mosaic Manifesto, Booklet No. 14. 1940. Pp. 68. \$1.10.

Church Supplies Co., Wheeling, W. Va.:

Catholic Marriage. By MOST REV. JOHN J. SWINT, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Wheeling. 1940. Pp. 32. \$1.10.

**ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY, THE MOST REVEREND
FRANCIS P. CARROLL, D.D., BISHOP OF CALGARY**

**AT THE MEETING OF THE CATHOLIC BIBLICAL ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA**

TORONTO, AUGUST 28, 1940

I wish to begin with a word of sincere congratulation to the Catholic Biblical Association on the marvellous progress it has made since its inception. That the Association exists at all is a wonderful thing. Twenty or twenty-five years ago, we could scarcely imagine such an organization. Those who were then interested in Scripture study were limited to a few seminary professors, whose interest was usually hampered by their obligation to teach Dogma or even Arithmetic as well as Scripture. Seminary Scripture courses were restricted affairs. Any departure from them was regarded with suspicion. Innovations were strictly ruled out. There really was a modernist in every corner. For it was the era when outside the church, the Grand Old Book was being made "a thing of shreds and patches." In the Church, there was a deep determination to keep intact everything within its sacred covers.

Catholic Scripture students at the time may have thought they had gone down into an Egyptian bondage and were being ruled by hard task masters. But that period of restraint and vigilance has borne marvellous fruit. It has resulted in one of the keenest ironies of history. Whilst most Christians outside the Church have succeeded in pulling to pieces the ancient object of their veneration, the Church, ever reputed the deadliest enemy of the Bible, alone remains to save it from destruction. It has resulted also in preventing modernism from ever troubling the Church or contaminating Catholic Scripture studies. It has produced our numerous biblical specialists and the many learned writings which flow from their pens. And not the least of these results is your own Biblical Association by which you have gathered and encouraged our scriptural talent, and are propagating solid biblical knowledge and arousing a wholesome biblical enthusiasm.

And so I congratulate you whole-heartedly, and pay you a fervent tribute of praise. Your membership list contains the names of masters in the scriptural science. Your Review is a most worthy production. Your activities display scientific care and the highest scholarship. The Catholic Biblical Association has won a place in the sun and is fast attaining the purpose of its existence. The venerable Book is safe in your hands; and

through you, the Church will do as She has ever done in the past. She will preserve it, guard it, defend it and interpret it for all mankind.

I would like to add a word of appreciation to those of the clergy, who have no pretensions towards scriptural specialization but whose love for God's Written Word has urged them to become members of the Association and to take part in these proceedings. All our clergy require the stimulus provided by this Association. The everyday defender, exponent and friend of the Bible is really the priest engaged in the active ministry. Yet he cannot fulfill his duty towards the Bible without the specialist. Both need each other, and the Association brings them together for their mutual benefit. It is most encouraging, therefore, to witness the interest and enthusiasm of the clergy at large. When this kind of co-operation exists, the highest success is assured.

It is presumptuous on my part to address other than words of encouragement to the Active Members of the Association. As I look up from diocesan debts, gumbo roads, and the intricacies of the Code to the quiet and calm of your intellectual Abraham's bosom, I cannot help hearing the words: "Between us and you there is fixed a great chaos." I am not qualified to speak words of advice to men who have reached the heights in Scripture study, many of whose names, in the past, filled me with reverential fear, and whose works today arouse my sincere admiration. But fools rush in where angels fear to tread. And in this fool-hardy spirit, I make a few suggestions, which, perhaps, are not worth the energy entailed in expressing them.

The promotion of biblical knowledge is a prime objective of your Association. But to promote this knowledge, we must begin among the clergy; and to make the clergy biblical minded, we must begin in the seminary. I have noticed from your Review and your discussions that the problem has presented itself to you in this fashion; that you would like to do something about seminary courses, but difficulties arise from your laudable attempt to fulfill ecclesiastical legislation and not overcrowd already crowded courses. It has been suggested that additional classes or even additional years to the seminary course, or preliminary scriptural studies in College or Philosophy might bring improvement. These, no doubt, would help; but they are difficult remedies. Why not attack the problem, not from the course

or from the legislation which governs its contents, but from the manner in which it is presented?

The average seminarian, at least, in this part of the world, has never seen inside the covers of a Bible when he enters the seminary. He knows no Hebrew or Greek, and usually has no desire, and often no ability, to know them. It is not our fault that our College boys come to the seminary so ill-equipped for the scientific study of Scripture. To try to patch up their defects often ends in failure and usually makes the Scripture class the driest in the curriculum. Why not take the seminarians as they are and bring the presentation to their level? When we teach theology to a class of children, we try to bring the theology to their mental capacity. We use every trick in the pedagogical bag to simplify and popularize, and to bring the children to a love and practice of their religion.

Should not the same principle govern the presentation of Scripture to a class of ordinary seminarians? The professor's object should be to induce them to read the Bible, familiarize themselves with its contents and to love it. If that much could be accomplished there would be more priestly spirituality and less looking for indults to commute the breviary; there would be more popularization of doctrine in preaching and less recourse to ready-made sermons; there would be more fruitful use of the Scriptures and less avoidance of them.

Of course, every Scripture professor longs to attain this object. Therefore, if he cannot change the course, or the ability of his class, could he not attain it, at least partially, by changing his methods of presentation? This is the basis of the whole movement which has brought about such glorious results in the realm of catechetics. We have been shouting that catechism must be taught. Why not ask that Scripture be taught? And that means, before everything else bringing the study to the capabilities of the students.

To say how to present Scripture science to the ordinary seminary class is beyond my capabilities. The experiences of several Scripture professors would have to be pooled; and from them all, a system might be devised. But here are a few opinions which I know can stand discussion.

I speak of ordinary seminarians, of those to whom we want to give a working knowledge of the Scriptures. I do not refer to those whose abilities single them out from the crowd as future

specialists; and I hope every class produces some of these. But of their training I have nothing to say. Now I think the first conviction a seminary Scripture professor should cultivate is that he is not training specialists. It is not his task to make every seminarian as proficient as himself. This being so, there are several things in the seminary course which the professor can eliminate or gloss over; and there are several other things, so rudimentary that the professor perhaps has forgotten them, but which should be emphasized, because the student knows nothing of them.

Now I think that among the things to be eliminated is the professor's laudable desire to teach his class Hebrew and Greek. This sounds like a reflection on the science. But we are not training scientific experts. We are merely trying to induce our seminarians to use and love their Bible. And that end can be reached without knowing the intricacies of the Begadkapheth letters or the differences between the *piel* and *pual* verbal forms. The legislation which demands the teaching of these languages could be fulfilled by teaching them to those seminarians who show signs of becoming specialists in any ecclesiastical subject, and by giving the crowd a lecture or two, somewhere in General Introduction, on the peculiar characteristics of these languages as they affect interpretation. Further in passages which demand a knowledge of these languages, I think we have to be content with telling the class that the interpretation is based on the genius of the original language. As a rule ordinary seminarians will accept the explanation. Anyone who does not, should be in the class of Hebrew and Greek for future specialists.

I would go further and suggest that the Bible which the seminarian uses as a class text-book should be the Bible which he will use in his future ministry, be that in English, French, or German, be it even that consummate offender against Scripture science and even the laws of printing: "The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate, diligently compared, etc., and published by John Murphy, Baltimore and New York." This does not mean that the professor should not recommend the use of the Vulgate, or insist on its use for certain portions of the course, as for example, in the study of the Psalms. It does not mean that the professor should not strive for the general adoption of an authorized version. It simply means that, until such comes to pass, the professor should content himself with the Bible he knows the seminarian will use in the future.

I think also that General Introduction should be reduced to a minimum—to what is absolutely necessary to know what the Church teaches on Inspiration, on the formation of the Canon and what are her chief principles of Hermeneutics. I imagine that the apologetics required to instruct an ordinary convert would be a practical guide as to what should be included in these matters. In the History of the Texts and Versions, technicalities of textual criticism and the history of those texts and versions seldom encountered in the pastoral ministry should be ruled out, no matter how important they may loom in the mind of the professor. But the glorious history of how the Bible reached us should be given all the charm and romance it really possesses. To me that history is the most interesting part of General Introduction; but it can be made as dry and dusty as the MSS with which it is concerned. I often thought it could be made more acceptable, if less scientific, by beginning with John Murphy's diligently compared Bible and working back to Moses with his slab of stone and his stilus. Surely ways can and should be found to make that story bristle with interest and arouse an enthusiasm for a book which has all but lived forever.

I feel, also, that Special Introduction is due for considerable re-adjustment for the ordinary Scripture class. I think it could be made more attractive by treating it not in a special class or course, but along with the particular book being studied; and not before but after that book. That method sounds upside down; but it is also upside down to teach authenticity, integrity, and the other problems of Special Introduction from the internal evidence of a book which the class has never read. I inherited a prejudice for Special Introduction from my own first year as a seminarian. We began at the very beginning, with an Introduction to the Pentateuch. Along with a 1911 edition of Cornely and an English Bible, we traced the elusive capers of J.E.P. and D. and a few others. For upwards of three months, we followed their peregrinations from chapter to chapter, and at the end of that period we were lost in a documentary maze and had acquired a positive dislike for Scripture study. Don't you think it would be better to introduce a book with one lively lecture on the traditional author? Tell the story of his life, when he wrote and why, omitting all discussion on these points. Then without further ado, launch into the deep of exegesis. As the exegetical study goes on, whenever internal evidence occurs, point out what

it does to confirm the traditional authorship, integrity, or date, and what it does to disprove attacks. At the end, a lecture or two will suffice to summarize these problems and bring them home. The class will at least know of the existence of the problems; it will know the traditional treatment of them, and are not these enough for the ordinary practical ministry?

Now all this elimination and reduction of matters about the Bible, will allow more time for the Bible itself. And exegesis is the place for cultivating a love of Bible study. The study about the Bible belongs especially to the expert; the study of the Bible, of what it has to say to mankind, is the field of the ordinary practitioner. The latter is not terribly concerned about attacks on or discussions about the Bible. He is willing to take it as it is; but he does want to know what it has to say. And if in his ordinary practice, he encounters a higher or a lower critic, he is willing to send him to a specialist.

If, therefore, our seminary course is crowded, let it be crowded with exegesis. And by exegesis I do not mean a verse by verse linguistic interpretation with the proof for the interpretation and a list of its sources. A few passages demand this kind of handling, because of their doctrinal import. But I mean a running connected commentary which sometimes interprets, sometimes analyzes, sometimes merely paraphrases the book, passage by passage or paragraph by paragraph. I mean a commentary which gives the best results of the best scholars, not the reasons for their results; which recreates environment, explains customs, and fills out the life which we know exists on every page. Père Lagrange has done for the Gospels in his *L'Evangile de Jésus Christ*, what I am attempting to describe for the whole exegetical content of a seminary Scripture course. The system will not satisfy the full demands of the science. But it will provide an immense amount of scriptural knowledge and arouse an interest in the study.

Many other things could be said about this manner of handling exegesis. But I have already trespassed on your kind forbearance. Feeling that you will pardon my audacity if I stop now, I conclude with the fervent wish that the Catholic Biblical Association will flourish and prosper, and that its members will continue to nourish the Church with "every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God."

ISAIAS AND THE TEACHING OF THE BOOK OF WISDOM

With an interval of thirty years between them, there have appeared in the set of *Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen* two studies on the Book of Wisdom whose conclusions are intimately bound up with the present subject. They involve an examination of possible sources for those teachings of the book which have most significance for us; namely, its doctrine on the questions of retribution and the future life. "It is not from the Greek philosophers," says Fr. Heinisch, "that there were delivered to the Jewish author the elements by the aid of which he has built up this teaching of his; since all that is treated of in the Book of Wisdom we may find already at least hinted at in the earlier Old Testament writings."¹ More recently, at the end of an examination that includes in its scope the Jewish extrabiblical writings and the possible influence of the religious concepts of Greece, Persia and Egypt, Fr. Bückers comes, with due reserve, to this conclusion: "The new teaching regarding immortality in the Book of Wisdom is a further development of concepts proper to the Old Testament, which took place not through revelation, but through the application of reasoning, under the influence of Hellenism."² In the light of these two conclusions, it seems appropriate to examine the Old Testament background against which Wisdom was written, to see if we can define in a rather more specific way the chief influence which disposed the sacred writer to formulate his teaching as he does.

It is of course a familiar fact that the later Old Testament writings in several instances draw much of their message from an appeal to the acknowledged sacred authority of the earlier inspired books. This appeal is rarely a matter of formal quotation, but is made by means of allusions, reworkings of material found in the older books, inferences and examples drawn from the same sources. Of books written in Hebrew, Ecclesiasticus presents the fullest development of this procedure; the prayer of Esdras in the books of Esdras-Nehemias, and the introductory chapters of the Book of Proverbs³ afford other examples.

¹ Heinisch, P. *Griechische Philosophie im Buche der Weisheit*, Münster i.W., 1908, p. 82.

² Bückers, H., C.Ss.R., *Die Unsterblichkeitslehre des Weisheitsbuches: ihr Ursprung und ihre Bedeutung*. Münster i.W., 1938, p. 181.

³ Cf. A. Robert, S.S., "Les attaches littéraires bibliques de Prov. I-IX," in *Revue Biblique*, 43-44, 1934-5, several articles.

For a like familiarity with, and devotional use of, the earlier Old Testament writings against an Alexandrian background, the Book of Wisdom stands out with a pre-eminence that is not matched in Palestine even by Ecclesiasticus. It may be said that the nineteen chapters of Wisdom contain not many lines, and extremely few connected passages that have not been derived in large part from fruitful meditation on the earlier sacred books. In fact, if we are to seek a principle of absolute unity in the Book of Wisdom, it is this which provides it. To say that it is a book about wisdom, or about immortality, about Hebrew history or divine providence, or against idolatry or Jewish apostasy, will not define the book. It is the expression of the fulness of all that one man in Egypt, with what must have been years of devoted study, could draw under divine guidance from the entire sacred literature of his people to give life and color and form to his own religious teaching for his contemporaries.

That the later chapters of Wisdom depend in this way on the Pentateuch for their lessons regarding the workings of divine providence is universally recognized. We shall touch on only one instance, because it is perhaps particularly suggestive with regard to the method of composition followed by the author of Wisdom. In 16:22 he says, speaking of the manna, "Snow and ice withstood fire and were not melted" (comp. 19:21). The comparison of the manna to ice is due to the Greek text of Num. 11:7, which says its appearance was that of ice; the M.T., in the same place, says, of bdellium, and elsewhere, of hoar-frost. That the comparison is made an absolute metaphor in Wisdom, and that "snow" as well as "ice" is spoken of, is because Wisdom is engaged in describing how created things serve God's purpose in dealing with the good and the wicked respectively, and he has a specific text in mind. He is alluding to Psalm 148:8, which in its Greek form runs,

"Fire, hail, snow, ice and storm-wind,
That fulfil his word."

The snow and ice are the manna; the fire, that which accompanied the Egyptian plague of hail. The workings of all these various elements under the conditions of the Exodus are portrayed by the author of Wisdom in order to bring out the lesson,

"Thy creation, serving Thee its maker,
Is drawn taut for punishment against the wicked,

And relaxed for benefit on behalf of those who trust in Thee" (16:24).

He supposes in his readers a knowledge of both the Pentateuch and the Psalms, if they are to recognize the appropriateness of the description.

In its "wisdom" chapters, especially 7-9, there is naturally a similar dependence of the Book of Wisdom on the hagiographa and pre-eminently on Proverbs. Whether all the books of the Hebrew canon were known in some form to Wisdom seems in general to be really doubtful only in regard to the five Megilloth, including (in spite of controversy) Ecclesiastes; to these may be added Esdras and Nehemias. It has been proposed of late by one writer⁴ to take the Greek rendering of Tobias as a *terminus a quo* for the Book of Wisdom, inasmuch as the two coincide in the use of the expression "a parable of reproach"⁵ and share also a sentence which appears in Wisdom 16:15 as "Thy hand it is impossible to escape" and in Tob. 13:2 LXX as "There is none who can escape his hand." But of these two expressions, it can be said with confidence that the first is no fair test of a connection between the two books. If so prosaic and ordinary a manner of expressing in Greek an essentially Hebrew notion happens to occur only in these two places in the Old Testament, we may view it as mere coincidence in the absence a far-reaching cumulative proof to make it appear otherwise. In the case of the full sentence, both Wisdom and the canticle of Tobias are dependent on verse 39 of the canticle in Deuteronomy 32 for the rest of the respective contexts; they have derived from it also this thought which they present so similarly, and the same expression is echoed in the Greek of Isa 10:14. There is no sound basis for connecting Wisdom and Tobias.

The case for a dependence of Wisdom on the LXX form of Isaias is far different. There exist two fairly patent examples.⁶ One is the use of Isa. 3:10 in Wis. 2:12. The Greek of this passage in Isaias runs "Let us bind the just man, for he is inconvenient to us"; Wisdom says, "Let us lie in wait for the just man, for he is inconvenient to us." The second example is the

⁴ Fichtner, J., "Die Stellung der Sapientia Salomonis in der Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte seiner Zeit" in *Zeitschr. N. T. Wiss.*, 36, 1937, 113-32.

⁵ παραβολή ὀνειδισμού (Tob. 3:4 LXXB; Wis. 5:3).

⁶ Cited e.g., in H. B. Swete, *Introduction to the O. T. in Greek*, reviewed by Ottly, Cambridge, 1914, p. 732.

use in Wis. 15:10 of the expression "His heart is ashes" which appears as "Know that their heart is ashes, and they are deceived" in Isa. 44:20 LXX. The Massoretic text of Isaias is divergent in both these cases. These texts are inherently more convincing, even taken by themselves, than the two similarities between Tobias and Wisdom already spoken of; for not only are the expressions here given unparalleled elsewhere, but the turn of thought is in both cases an uncommon one which it would be difficult to account for on the supposition of pure coincidence.

When to these obvious examples we add the fact that there is no chapter of Wisdom which has not some expression that is closely paralleled in the LXX of Isaias, and combine this with what we know already of the method of Wisdom's author and with the presumptive dates of the two works, advanced on other grounds, we have a complete certainty that Wisdom knew and used the Greek Isaias. Without going further into detail, it may be said simply that there are fully fifty passages in Wisdom, apart from those we are to consider in the present study, which have derived something from Isaias' prophecies.

We can go farther than that, and transcend the rather narrow limits of comparison of individual texts, to say that just as there are definite themes in the Book of Wisdom which depend for their development on material drawn from the Pentateuch on the one hand or the Hagiographa on the other, so there are also themes suggested by the prophets and developed in Wisdom primarily on the basis of material drawn from Isaias. The defence against idolatry is a case in point. Wisdom devotes three chapters to it (13:1-15:17), touching on the inherent folly of idolatry, its misguided human origins and its evil effects. In this development are included elements drawn from Deuteronomy, Osee, Jeremias and the Psalms; and there are of course some elements of the indictment against idolatry that occur so constantly in the O.T. that an attempt to trace them back to any single source would be absurd. Two sections, however, deal respectively with the production of wooden idols and of those made out of clay. The former description (Wis. 13:11-16) is taken directly from Isaias 44 and is enlarged upon, in the verses that follow it, in language replete with reminiscences of the same prophet.⁷ The description of the

⁷ Comp. besides Isa. 44:9-20 also Isa. 40:18-20 and 41:6-7; also Isa. 45:20 with Wis. 15:17; Isa. 8:19 LXX with Wis. 15:18; Isa. 46:5 and 45:9 LXX

clay idol and its maker (Wis. 15:7-13) is evidently suggested by and patterned after the earlier one. Moreover, while Isa. 44 speaks of wooden idols, Isa. 45 portrays God the creator working as a potter with earthly material to produce mankind. This representation provides the background for Wisdom's ironical description of the idol-maker in his turn employing his kindred clay for an unworthy use; and again the language of the section shows clearly the sources of Wisdom's reflections.⁸

This dependence of Wisdom on Isaias in the idolatry section is given recognition in the commentaries. It is introduced here primarily to stress the fact that the more significant relationship of which we are now to treat is not an isolated one, and does not depend on a merely incidental, and more or less unintentional heaping up of references to Isaias rather than to some other of the sacred books, in one particular part of the Book of Wisdom. Just as the Pentateuch furnishes to the author of Wisdom his examples of divine providence and mercy in the treatment of the Hebrew people; just as the Hagiographa furnish the background for his chapters about wisdom, and the prophets for the apology against idolaters, so when the author of Wisdom wishes to present his teaching on the important questions of divine retribution in life and after death, he deliberately draws on Isaias, and particularly the later chapters of that prophet, to provide him with the elements of his teaching. It is possible of course that the teaching in question in its definitive form is actually due to a direct personal revelation, to which the author nowhere in his book lays claim. But the manner in which he presents his message to others is after the fashion of what we should perhaps call theological conclusions; and he clearly assumes on the part of his readers an acknowledgement of these conclusions because they acknowledge the source, namely Isaias.

To provide him with focal points for his exposition of God's plan of retribution, Wisdom in chapters 2-5 presents a series of characters or types. Each of them is taken from Isaias, though embellished in greater or less degree with additional details from elsewhere. The representation (Wis. 5:15-16) of God acting on

with Wis. 13:11 c-d; Isa. 43:16 (also 43:14 *l.* *δεηθήσονται*?) and 46:7 with Wis. 14:1,3,4; Isa. 44:15 and Wis. 14:8; Isa. 44:8-9 (*l.* *οὐκ ἦσαν τότε*, cf. Ziegler's ed.) and Wis. 14:13; Isa. 44:9-10, 5:12-13 and Wis. 13:1.

⁸ Comp. Isa. 45:9-10, 25 LXX; also Wis. 15:8b with Isa. 41:24 LXX; Wis. 15:10a with Isa. 44:20 LXX; Wis. 15:7 and Isa. 45:7.

behalf of the just springs from Isa. 62:3,11, and leads, in keeping with the suggestions of that chapter, to a portrayal of God as the avenger of lawlessness. As such, God is a warrior in full panoply (Wis. 5:18), a picture based primarily on Isa. 59:16-17. His equipping of an armed force of his own to lay the whole earth waste (Wis. 5:17-23) is represented in Isa. 13:5,9. The use of rivers in flood as an instrument of the divine vengeance (Wis. 5:22) is suggested by Isa. 59:19, and the precise wording is then drawn from Isaias 43:2. Other influences on the imagery of this section and its language come from Josue 10:10-14 and apparently from Zach. 9:13-16.

When the spokesmen for injustice are made to describe the just as seen through their eyes, Wisdom (2:12-20) makes them use as an indictment a number of considerations drawn from Isaias. "He is inconvenient to us," they first say, in the words of Isa. 3:10. They charge him with claiming to be the child of God (Wis. 2:13), and justify an attack on him by saying that if he is truly God's son he will defend him (Wis. 2:18). "Jacob is my servant, I will defend him" says Isaias 42:1 LXX, using the same Greek expressions (*παῖς, ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι*).

"His life is not like other men's,

And different are his paths

And he holds aloof (*ἀπέχεται*) from our ways as from defilements," says Wisdom (2:15-16).

And Isaias 55:7-9 LXX says "Let the wicked forsake his ways . . . My ways are not as your ways, says the Lord, but as the heavens are distant from the earth, so is my way distant (*ἀπέχεται*) from your ways."

Wisdom does not hesitate to advance as special objects of the divine concern and tenderness the very types whom the Jewish people, measuring by their accustomed standards, would be inclined to regard as reprobate. His source is again Isaias. There is for example the eunuch; Wisdom (3:14) says of him that if he do no lawless deed

"There shall be given him fidelity's choice reward

And a more gratifying heritage in the Lord's temple."

More gratifying than what? The answer may be fairly transparent, but Isaias gives it explicitly:—"Blessed is the man who . . . keeps his hands from doing an unjust deed. Thus says the Lord to the eunuchs who . . . hold fast by my covenant, I shall

give them in my house and in my wall a place of note, better than sons and daughters" (Isa. 56:2-5). Wisdom invokes this promise and envisages its fulfillment in the spiritual order at the Last Judgment. For it is "at the visitation of souls" that the childless woman who lives virtuously is also to bear fruit, through a recognition that comes from God (Wis. 3:13; 4:1). This is a transfer to the individual order of the promises made by God to Jerusalem in Isa. 54:1 ff. and 49:14-21. "Rejoice thou childless, who dost not bear . . . for many are the children of the desolate, more than of her who has her husband; for the Lord has said it (54:1). And thou shalt say in thy heart, 'Who has begotten me these? And I was childless and a widow; but these, who has brought them up for me? And I was left solitary, but whence came these to me?' " (49:21). We shall see that when the fate of the wicked is contrastingly developed with regard to their progeny, Isaias is again drawn upon.

Another example of apparent earthly failure is the just man who dies young. Of him, Wisdom says that he shall be at rest (4:7, comp. 3:3); that God has taken him out of the midst of wickedness for his own reasons (4:10-11), and that this is incomprehensible to the wicked who look on (4:14,17). "Behold how the just perished," says Isaias (57:1-2), "and no one takes it to heart. And just men are carried off, and no one gives thought to it. For from the presence of wickedness the just is snatched away; his burial shall be in peace, he has been snatched out of the midst." In the case of this text, the language of Isaias himself suggests a return to the book of Genesis, and it is by following closely on this suggestion and interpreting God's plan in terms of Enoch (Gen. 5:24) and of Lot fleeing from Sodom (Gen. 13:13; 19:22,29), that Wisdom fills out his thought—

"As he was pleasing to God, he was loved;

And as he was living amid sinners, he was transported—
Snatched away;

Therefore he sped from the midst of wickedness" (4:10-11).

If Wisdom, who has already (3:3) used of the just Isaias' thought "They are in peace," changes the phrase in 4:7 to "shall be at rest" and follows with a discussion of honorable old age, it is apparently because he has also Isa. 11:10, "And his rest shall be honor" in his mind. And indeed, the whole problem of the re-

lationship between long life and God's providence is posed for him by the passage Isa. 65:20-23, which in the midst of promises of a new heaven and a new earth, says "There shall no longer be there one immature, or an old man who shall not fill out his time . . . for according to the days of the tree of life shall the days of my people be." Compare Wis. 4:13, "Made perfect in a brief time, he fulfilled long periods."

When Wisdom wishes summarily to characterize the unjust man, the appeal is, strangely, to a contrary expression in Isaias. Isa. 51:1 addresses "You who pursue what is just, and seek the Lord." Wisdom parallels the Greek phrasing exactly, of those "who neglected what is just and forsook the Lord" (3:10). The verb for "neglect" may have been suggested by Jer. 4:17 LXX; the "forsaking the Lord" finds expression in Isa. 59:13 and elsewhere. But the entire antithesis is too clear and too vivid to be anything but deliberate. When, subsequently (Wis. 4:20-5:7) the unjust are brought face to face with judgment, their situation is described in terms that depend at several points on Isaias 59:6-14 and on Isa. 13:6-11.⁹ When they contrast the actual state of the just at judgment with what they had fancied concerning him, the wicked reverse the tableau given by Isaias 14 to portray the fall of the king of Babylon,¹⁰ and the language again indicates that the allusion is a conscious one.

It is not merely in the choice of types that Wisdom draws on Isaias, however. In outlining the nature of the rewards and punishments visited by God on mankind, he makes use of the same source. When God speaks to Jerusalem under the figure of the barren woman, Isaias LXX makes him say (54:16-17)

"But I formed thee not for destruction, to make to perish . . .

There is an inheritance for those serving God, and you shall be my just ones, says the Lord."¹¹

⁹ Comp. Wis. 4:20b and Isa. 59:12; Wis. 5:4, οἱ ἄφρονες and Isa. 59:7 (I. διαλογισμοὶ ἀφρόνων, cf. Ziegler's edition); Wis. 5:6a,7 and Isa. 59:6-8, 14, cf. also 53:6; Wis. 5:6b-c and Isa. 59:9, cpr. 62:1, 9:2 (1) and 58:10; Wis. 4:20 and Isa. 13:7, 11; Wis. 5:2 and Isa. 13:8. In Wis. 5:3 is a reminiscence of Isa. 46:8; with this cf. also Wis. 4:17 and Isa. 46:10-11, 41:10 LXX.

¹⁰ Comp. Wis. 5:3 and Isa. 14:16; Wis. 5:4, also 4:19, and Isa. 14:19; Wis. 5:5 and Isa. 14:10.

¹¹ The text here is that of Ziegler's edition; the punctuation differs from his, which even apart from the present question does not represent a likely division of the text.

It is on the basis of this language that Wisdom says "For God formed man to be imperishable" (2:23). Thus the very foundation for the idea of a blessed immortality, ἀφθαρσία, imperishableness or incorruptibility, a term which enters the Old Testament first with Wisdom, is there presented under the influence of LXX Isaias.¹²

That the notion of "peace" as the basic and immediate reward of the just who die has been derived from Isa. 57:2 for its two occurrences in Wis. 3:3 and 4:7 has already been mentioned. The same notion is expressed also in Isa. 54:13, "I shall cause thy children to be in great peace," in the context we have just been discussing above. In the development of Wis. 3:1-9 regarding the reward of the just, Wis. 3:2b "And their passing away was esteemed affliction" is the language of Isa. 53:4, "And we esteemed him to be in trouble and in suffering and in affliction." The lightness of the chastisement which the just must undergo (Wis. 3:5a) is likely an allusion to Isa. 26:11 LXX "in small distress was thy chastisement for us." Among the possible sources for Wis. 3:6b and 7a must be reckoned Isa. 42:1 and 4 LXX (comp. with the latter Jer. 6:15 and 10:15, LXX). To the expressions of Wis. 3:8-9 may be compared Isa. 32:17 and 30:18 LXX. Not all of these comparisons are equally forceful, however, and there are undoubtedly elements of Wisdom's thought in this context that cannot be accounted for by any appeal to Isaias.

When we come to the question of what punishments the wicked are to experience in life and at death, we find that in contrast to the types of the childless just and the just who dies young, the wicked are to be punished in the fate of their offspring, and even long life can bring them no real benefit (Wis. 3:11b-12, 16-17). These thoughts are developed in accordance with Isa. 65:20-23 and 57:3-4, two contexts to which we have previously had occasion to refer.

"Vain is their hope, and useless are their labors,
And worthless are their works.

¹² A similar passage in Isaias which may be compared with Wis. 2:23 and 1:14a, is 44:7 LXX, "from when I made man forever"; the expression in the Hebrew is difficult, but the Greek apparently connects it with Deut. 4:32, in such a way as to make the sense that mankind has been made immortal.

Their wives are foolish and their children wicked;
 Accursed is their seed," says Wisdom (3:11b-12; comp.
 11:21).

Compare this with Isa. 65:23, "My chosen ones shall not labor in vain, nor bring forth children for a curse, for they are a seed blessed by God." In Wis. 3:17 we have,

"For should they attain long life, they will be esteemed for naught,

And dishonored will be their old age at the last."¹³

Isaias 65:20 says "And he who dies a sinner shall be of a hundred years, and he shall be accursed." There is about the verse of Wisdom also a surprising reminiscence of Isa. 53:3 and 10, LXX—"He was dishonored and was not esteemed . . . your soul shall see a long-lived seed." Wisdom 3:16 has

"But the children of adulterers will remain imperfect

And the seed of an unlawful union will be desolated."

Then in Wis. 4:18 we find the wicked represented as having the just man in contempt at his death (cf. also 5:3). Isa. 57:3-5 gives us, "But do you approach hither, unlawful sons, seed of adulterers and the harlot. At whom do you exult? Against whom have you opened your mouths and against whom did you draw out your tongue? Are you not children of destruction, O lawless seed?" There is in addition Isa. 14:20, also from a familiar context, which says "Thou shalt not remain for the period of eternity, O wicked seed."

Of the condition of the wicked after death Wisdom says rather little. That their corpse is to be without honor and they are to be for a mockery among the dead forever (Wis. 4:19) are purely external circumstances based again apparently on the fall of the king of Babylon (Isa. 14:16-19). Beyond the description of their approach to judgment, recognizing the salvation of the just and their own complete failure, their plight is further determined only by the phrase of Wis. 4:19, "They shall be in grief." This precise expression occurs of Egyptian weavers on the day of the Lord's visitation, in Isa. 19:10 LXX.

The climax of Wisdom's teaching regarding the reward of the just comes in 5:15-16. With this we may take Wis. 2:22b-c,

¹³ Besides the passages cited above for this verse, cf. also Isa. 40:17 LXX; Wis. 7:8-9 and 9:6; Dan. 4:32 M.T. and ©; also Ecclus. 41:8-10 with Wis. 3:16-18.

which announces that according to God's plan there shall be a reward for uprightness and a recompense for blameless souls. The latter passage is apparently based on Isa. 62:11=40:10, which says, "Behold, thy savior (or, the Lord) has come, bringing his own reward; and his work is before him."¹⁴ That the Lord will shelter the just with his right hand and shield them with his arm (Wis. 5:16) seems to reflect Isa. 62:8, in which he swears by his right hand and by the strength of his arm to protect them. And finally, when we are told that the just, who live forever, "Shall receive the crown of splendor, and the beauteous diadem from the Lord's hand" (Wis. 5:16) we are undoubtedly in the presence of a deduction from the promise to Jerusalem in Isa. 62:3, "And thou shalt be a crown of beauty in the hand of the Lord, and a kindly diadem in the hand of thy God." It is this promise which enables Wisdom to formulate the thought, which he repeats again in 6:19-21, that the reward of the just is to be an association with God in his everlasting kingdom.

To resume Fr. Bückers' conclusion, we may perhaps now formulate it as follows, with all necessary reserve: The new teaching regarding immortality in the Book of Wisdom is a further development of concepts proper to the Old Testament, which took place not through revelation, but through fruitful meditation by the author on the prophecies of Isaiah in their LXX form. We may concede Hellenism as a stimulus not only to the author of Wisdom, but perhaps to the translator of Isaiah as well; for he seems to go beyond his original in some points. And thus we find that the "Book of Consolation" of Isaiah, with assistance in lesser degree from the earlier chapters of the same prophet, held a gift for the faithful Jews of Alexandria in Hellenistic times no less perhaps than that which it afforded to its intended readers of the exile in Babylon. As a stay in time of trouble and as a guarantee of future glory it disposed them to an understanding of God's plan for the individual soul surpassing any other that we know from before the time of Christ.

PATRICK W. SKEHAN

¹⁴ This seems the only place where Wisdom may have gone beyond the LXX text of Isaiah, to understand *ἐργον* as "recompense" in keeping with the original.

“DOMINUS DEUS SABAOTH”

Like all religious writings, the Scriptures of Israel have their own exclusive terms for the Deity. His Being is denoted by the quasi-poetic *'El* and the commoner *'Elohim*, while His personal name is expressed by “the tetragrammaton” and explained as the finite verbal form *Yahweh*. Rich as the same writings also are in attributes of God, it is natural to find a few attributive terms transferred from their titular use into combination with the significant names. But such combination is usually much rarer than the substantive use of the attribute alone. While the Psalmists often use the common adjective *'elyon* as a title, “Exalted One,” the phrase *'El 'elyon* appears only in a very few passages of the Pentateuch. So too *shadday*, “the Almighty,” very common in Job, is but seldom used as part of the title *'El shadday*.

But one such expression reverses this rule. It uses in combination 280 times an attributive word found alone, in all of its forms, only 200 times besides. This title of God in its fullest form is *Yahweh 'Elohey šeba'oth*. But there are several variations. *'Elohey*, unlike *Yahweh*, is never alone before *šeba'oth*. Sometimes the briefer phrase *Yahweh šeba'oth* follows *ha'adon*, “the Lord,” as if in apposition. At times (especially in Isaias) the more technical *'Adonay* precedes *Yahweh šeba'oth* in this fashion. Twice in Isaias¹ we read the redundant *ha'adon 'Adonay šeba'oth*, probably due to later alteration. Three times² the attributive word is definite, making *Yahweh* (or *Yahweh 'Elohey*) “of the” *šeba'oth*. But of all its varieties the commonest form of the title is the briefest, *Yahweh šeba'oth*, which actually claims eighty per cent of the whole number.

Taking the phrase indifferently in all its variations—since the thought behind them all is manifestly one—its wide distribution arrests attention. It is representative of Israel's theology from the earliest of the kings down to late in the post-exilic reconstruction. Appearing first in the history of Samuel's origin, it gains in frequency down to the closing verses of Malachias; and while Isaias and Jeremias together claim more than half of its occurrences, the shorter post-exilic book of Zacharias outdoes them in the ratio of frequency. At the same time, the title is no peculiar note of either prophet or poet, but quite familiar to historians as well, though naturally less often in demand.

¹ Isa. 10:16; 19:4.

² Osee 12:6; Amos 3:13; 6:14.

At all events this title of God, in its several modifications, is all but universally familiar to Old Testament writers. On the other hand, those areas from which it is excluded are so significant to any discussion of its meaning that I postpone their enumeration to a later place. However, as regards a convenient translation of *Yahweh šeba'oth*, there lies to hand "the Lord of hosts," familiar to Catholic readers from Douai itself not less than Challoner. This last expression we adopt for the present, without prejudice to further inquiry.

This very imperfect outline of study aspires to be suggestive rather than decisive. Two subjects of inquiry are obvious. First comes the question of the grammatical construction of the original Hebrew phrase. Secondly, the attributive word *šeba'oth* invites inquiry into its radical notion as a point in Old Testament theology. In this natural order we may approach the subject.

GRAMMATICAL RELATION OF THE COMPONENT WORDS

How, then, is *šeba'oth* related grammatically to the divine name? The complete expression *Yahweh 'Elohey šeba'oth* presents no difficulty in itself. Here *šeba'oth* is clearly a genitive governed by the construct form *'Elohey*, which is in its familiar apposition with the divine name, the whole meaning "Yahweh, the God of hosts." But the much commoner phrase *Yahweh šeba'oth* is not so clear in syntax.

The sacred personal name had ceased to be uttered in public reading even before the Septuagint, which constantly replaces it by κύριος. All later versions either translate it by some title or represent it by some written symbol. When we next consult the ancient versions for the relation of *šeba'oth* to their respective substitutes for *Yahweh*, we find them unevenly divided between an explicit genitive and a mere juxtaposition of words unmodified. The Targums take over the Hebrew phrase as stereotyped, with no Aramaic indication of internal construction. In like manner the Syriac expresses "the Lord" by the unique form *Marya'*, created for this service like the Massorettes' *'Adonay*, but uses no modification of *hayltana*, "forces," as if the whole phrase even in translation were an ungrammatical formula. On the contrary Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, while varying much from place to place, often employ a genitive, στρατιῶν or

δυνάμεων. The genitive completely dominates the Vulgate, which only once transcribes the Hebrew attribute as *Sabaoth*.³

³ Jer. 11:20.

But the LXX, except throughout the Psalter, commonly avoids a genitive construction. This is the more remarkable in view of the variety of its alternatives. The four books of the Kings vary between κύριος σάβαωθ, κ. παντοκράτωρ and κ. τῶν δυνάμεων. This latter genitive rules supreme in the Psalter. The Greek translator of Isaias always writes κ. σάβαωθ, as if giving up the grammatical riddle. The translator of Jeremias omits the awkward attributive about four fifths of the time, making it παντοκράτωρ where he retains it at all. And throughout the Minor Prophets παντοκράτωρ is almost invariable, though the genitive does occur five times. Altogether it is used in the LXX eighteen times where *ṣeba'oth* in the Hebrew has no governing construct (*'Elohey*). This feature of the oldest version, and one produced by learned Jews, is not inconsiderable, especially with the later support of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. The interpretation of *ṣeba'oth* as an attribute in the genitive did not seem impossible to early Jewish translators.

That *Yahweh*, however, cannot be taken as grammatically construct, is now generally agreed, though not all arguments against this are equally pertinent. Dr. Briggs, in the lexicon familiar to us all,⁴ excludes the construct state on the ground that the utterance demanded by the vowels of the tetragrammaton is always *'Adonay*, never *'Adoney* as if in the construct state. But this conventional term for the Lord of all is itself vocalized as an artificial word with no normal ending capable of being exchanged for that of the construct. Such a schematic form could lend to the tetragrammaton only invariable vowels. However, the agreement of modern hebraists against the construct state of *Yahweh* is solidly based on the natural definiteness of personal names;⁵ and Briggs himself, in the passage just mentioned, rightly appeals to this argument.

If, then, in the shorter and commoner title *Yahweh ṣeba'oth*, the second word cannot be strictly constructed in the genitive, what explanations remain? Briggs⁶ explains the two words as

⁴ Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 839.

⁵ Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, tr. A. E. Cowley; Oxford, 1910; §125 d-h; Joüon, *Grammaire de l'Hebreu Biblique*; Rome, 1923; §131 o.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

"names in apposition," and Joüon agrees.⁷ But will this bear analysis? An appositive expresses either identity or attribution. Attribution commonly supposes that an adjective has acquired substantive value, like *'elyon*, "the exalted," or *shadday*, "the almighty," and so lends itself to apposition with a personal name. But a true substantive such as *šeba'oth* is another matter. "Yahweh the hosts" is without sense. Joüon thinks that *šeba'oth* in this stereotyped connection might have come to be treated as a proper name. This might be easier to imagine if the same word, in both numbers and in many constructions, did not appear as a common noun 200 times outside of any connection with a divine title. With all deference to these scholars, I cannot accept the hypothesis of apposition.

Cowley⁸ considers *Yahweh 'Elohey šeba'oth* a later expansion of *Yahweh šeba'oth*. With the latter as original, he explains *šeba'oth* as a virtual or surviving genitive dependent on some appellative force once owned by the proper name, but now forgotten. But until one can assign to *Yahweh* some original value not only appellative but also transitive, this hypothesis must lack solid ground.

Even if we ignore the Vulgate because of its western idiom, the sense of a genitival relation between *Yahweh* and *šeba'oth* is too early and too persistent not to require explanation. The sanest as well as the simplest view seems to be that which A. B. Davidson expressed in 1912:⁹ "The common *Yahweh šeba'oth* is probably brevilouquence for *Yahweh 'Elohey šeba'oth*." Briggs himself, in affirming that *šeba'oth* had the article in the earliest form of the title, instances only passages where the construct *'Elohey* is included, thus implying this fuller version of the title to have been the original. Its nature, in fact, would suggest that the longer phrase had shrunk to the shorter, since an attributive title becoming increasingly common would tend to abbreviation. True, it seems difficult for the personal name *Yahweh*, when thus left adjacent to *šeba'oth*, to enter the service of a grammatical connection to which its own nature must remain positively opposed. And yet even this seems easier to account for than the reduction of *šeba'oth* to a mere symbol without signification, and that in the hands of writers who were using the word as a common noun in many and various contexts. Joüon himself, on the

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁸ *Op. cit.* 125 h.

⁹ *Hebrew Syntax*³, §24, Rem. 6.

origin of *Yahweh šeba'oth*, attests that "an ellipsis for *Yahweh 'Elohey šeba'oth* . . . is generally supposed." On the whole, then, it would seem that a sense of the original genitive did survive, and that *Dominus exercituum* fairly reproduces *Yahweh šeba'oth* in its idiomatic force, even if not in rigorous syntax.

THE ROOT IDEA IN ŠEBA'OTH

The specific use of the genitive here, though not in itself a complicated matter, may depend on the answer to our second main question: What idea did *šeba'oth*, as an attribute of deity, radically serve to express? Clearly, the only source of reply lies in a fairly adequate view, even if a brief one, of the common uses of the word.

The briefest glance reveals that the noun *šaba'* in either number most commonly applies, in the concrete, to the forces of war. Even a more abstract use of the singular for a state or condition of "service" often tends in the same direction. Frequent in the tribal statistics of the Book of Numbers is the pregnant phrase *yose' šaba'*, "going out (on) service," to characterize the able bodied class as *liable* to military service although not now mobilized. And, of course, individual devotion to any organized service to the state might be expected to serve the ends of war.

This military implication suggests a moment's return to the distribution of the titles *Yahweh 'Elohey šeba'oth* and its briefer equivalent in the Old Testament writings. Taking them together, the title is almost universal; but its limitations in the literature are interesting. It does not appear in the Pentateuch, Josue, or the Judges. Neither do Ezechiel and Daniel ever use the title, though the prophets of the restoration overflow with it. Something about it seems to savor of Israel in actual possession of the Land of Promise—neither looking forward to a national home from the earlier days of migration, nor backward to its lost possession from "the waters of Babylon." Even the Book of Job, with its revelation of the root idea of *šaba'*, never speaks of *Yahweh šeba'oth*. Whatever the respective time and situation of a writer who uses the title, it is reserved to the setting of organized and stable national life.

This unspoken rule of propriety invests *Yahweh šeba'oth* with a subtle sense of invincible protection. God, as acclaimed by His people at home, would seem to be "the War Lord." If something

of the same *nuance* attaches to "the Lord of hosts," it is even stronger in the language of St. Jerome. Hampered, perhaps, by some liturgical convention, the Vulgate throughout the Psalter matches the LXX's κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων by *Dominus virtutum*, but prefers *Dominus exercituum* everywhere else. And, after all, the frequent and regular Hebrew title for the army's commander-in-chief is "chief of the *šaba'*"; and the first of all to claim it is the theophanic angel in Josue. All of this makes a strong case for the predominance of a radically warlike idea.

But the case cannot pass unchallenged. Both the noun *šaba'* and its radical verb often express some organized and obligatory service other than that of war. Ex. 38:8 speaks of a *saba'* of women serving at the gate to the Tabernacle. The application of the same words to the priestly and levitical orders is both regular and frequent. In 1 Par. 27:3, which enumerates the monthly courses assigned to attendance on the person of the king, the first officer named is called "head of all chiefs of the *šeba'oth* of the first month," where military forces cannot be meant. In fact, we trace a constant distinction between the simple concept of a military force and a more complex idea of a term of obligation to some organized activity. The obvious question is, which of these notions is primary and radical? Is war our starting-point, and are the priests, Levites and courtiers called *šeba'oth* because assignment to disciplined co-operation makes them like an army? Or is bondage to any co-ordinate activity rather a generic state, of which military service is only one species? In balancing a complicated group of ideas so as to estimate their source, there is place for special pleading, and even a decision which may seem impartial must be pronounced with due reserve.

Beginning with *šaba'*, we find its military application somewhat hedged about by contrast with *milhamah*, the term for actual warfare. The conscript who has his "full and perfect kit" is said to be "equipped for *šaba'*," and so may the whole of his class when actually mobilized. But in designating the individual, "men of the *šaba'*" is rare, and only denotes the personnel of a particular expedition. On the other hand, the experienced soldier, the veteran, the reliable fighting man is not '*ish šaba'*, but '*ish milhamah*, a phrase occurring 43 times in fifteen of the books. Again, the phrases "expert" or "skilfull in war," "to teach war," "to learn war," always employ *milhamah*. Original-

ly, then, and radically, *šaba'* has clearly a generic value which may call for specification by *milhamah*.

We meet with this in the verb as well as the noun. Zach, 14:12 alludes to "nations mustering" or "marshalling themselves against Jerusalem," at a time of no open hostility. Still more interesting, as applying to Levites, is an apposition of two final clauses concerning "everyone going in *lišebo' šaba'* (to fulfill a service), *la'abod 'abodah* (to do a duty) in the Tabernacle."¹⁰ This time the specifying member emphasizes obligation to a servitude, its functions being specified elsewhere.

Take again the connotation of a definite term of compulsory service. This dominates Isaiah 40:2: "Call to Jerusalem that her *šaba'* is finished." It is not the individual exile forced, perhaps, to serve in the Babylonian army; it is Jerusalem herself who has reached the expiration of a hard term. The LXX reads "her abasement." Still more clearly do both qualities—obligation and its time-limit—appear in Job 7:1: "Is there not *šaba'* for man on earth, and are not his days as the days of one hired?" Job's own days, unknown to war, had been days of unremitting devotion to a never forgotten superior. Again in 14:14 he avows: "All the days of my *šaba'* I wait till relief arrives." This hint of successive classes or shifts savors more of the army to our independent selves than to ancient society with its regimentation of many social activities.

Known to all are frequent allusions to the sun, moon and stars as "the *šaba'* of heaven" and a few mentions of created spirits under the same title. "The thought," writes Briggs, "of angels and stars as [the] army of God is later."¹¹ But is there thought of an army at all? The astral bodies are numberless, they move singly, their order is perfect, and this is all determined for them and imposed upon them. But against what are they arrayed in opposition? Deborah, indeed, has "the stars in their courses" fighting against Sisera,¹² but her hyperbole seems to stand alone. As for the spirit host, we see them lending one or other member to some earthly mission, but not marshalled for collective strife. Enough for them the unending and ordered servitude which is their lot by nature.

¹⁰ Num. 4:23.

¹¹ *Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 839.

¹² Jdg. 5:20.

We may now venture to say that the particular use of the genitive involved in the divine title is that of attribution: Yahweh whose nature it is to be served. Subject to final judgment, one would also say that our familiar phrase "the Lord of hosts" has done good service. And yet we lack a single word for the root idea of *ṣeba'oth*. Neither "armies," "arrays," nor "orders" can cover its full content. After all that comprises the universe has been ranged in the categories of creation itself, they are summed up as "heaven and earth and the whole of their *ṣaba'*." And here, I believe, we penetrate to the source. Every created thing is a being whose nature itself connotes co-operation, activity within a destined sphere and term, both assigned and controlled by that One who alone is naturally and wholly free, *Dominus Deus Sabaoth*.

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THE REVISION OF OUR OLD TESTAMENT IN ENGLISH

The consideration of Bishop Challoner's revision of the Douay Old Testament brings to mind the similar essay that we have undertaken. It will be evident to anyone who reads the principles adopted for our revision that the intention of the Revision Committee reaches far beyond the type of work done by Challoner.¹ This fact, together with the experiences we have had in the revision of the New Testament in English, advises further examination of those principles in the light of their application. The present writer has been over five of the Minor Prophets under the guidance of the rules for the revision, and he feels that some discussion of them is needed in view of the questions that still remain for settlement.² The principles, it is true, were accepted by the Editorial Board only after due reflection; but their expression is necessarily brief, and perhaps on that account not as clear as we should like. Further, the application of the principles has revealed that not all the editors and revisors are agreed as to how far we should go in this work of revision.

To assist in clarifying the principles, and to raise the difficulties yet to be solved, this article will deal with: I The principles themselves; II An illustration of their effectiveness; III Some conclusions drawn from the writer's experiences.

I

The basic text of our work is defined as "any edition of the Vulgate." This definition is rather wide, but it is left so intentionally, that the revisors may go beyond the Clementine edition to a more ancient and authoritative Latin text. It is not necessary to offer a defense for this principle, especially since it has been accepted by the Episcopal Committee in charge of the revision. Further, any revisor will know from his contact with the Clementine edition that it stands in need of improvement.

Such hesitation as attended the acceptance of this broad principle was due to a fear that it might leave us with an indeter-

¹ The principles for the revision of the Old Testament may be found in C.B.Q. 1 (1939), 267f.

² This article is based on the author's revision of Jonas, Micheas, Nahum, Habacuc and Sophonias.

minate and fluctuating basic text. That, of course is not the case. Even if we were to follow the Clementine exclusively there would be need of calling attention to its weaknesses, and that implies criticism. Under our present rule the revisor is allowed to select a better reading of the Latin, but not without good reason; the standard rules of textual criticism will be his guide. Beyond the revisor the editors will have an opportunity of controlling the choice of readings. In any case the fact that both revisors and editors are men trained in the biblical sciences gives us the assurance that their criticism of the Vulgate will be sound.

It is true that we have not the same help here as we had in judging the Latin text of the New Testament. And yet the available means towards an improvement of the Clementine Old Testament are not to be despised. The books already published by the Benedictine Commission may be considered final.³ Another aid was highly recommended in Rome, the *codex caraffianus*. It was pointed out that where the Benedictine Commission departs from the Clementine it almost always gives the reading of the Caraffa commission. The Episcopal Committee on the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine has generously secured for us a photostatic copy of this codex. Some further help may be had from Tischendorf's edition of the Vulgate.⁴ Finally, much useful textual information may be gathered from St. Jerome's commentaries on his version.

The determination of his basic text is not the main difficulty to be faced by the revisor of the Old Testament. There are problems of interpretation which will cause him much more concern. The principles of the revision offer some assistance in these problems, and on these the revisor will naturally rest the most important part of his work. This assistance may be regarded as twofold: that which affects the text itself, and that which calls for clarification in the footnotes. The latter is rather evident. It permits attention in footnotes to any textual variants which might clear up the obscurities found in the Vulgate. This means that the revisor must have in mind the fact that his version is from the Vulgate, and also that it is intended for general

³ Not all textual critics agree with the methods of the Benedictine Commission, and yet they admit that the results are excellent. Cf. the numerous reviews appearing on the subject in the biblical journals for 1927.

⁴ *Biblia Sacra Latina*. C. de Tischendorf. Lipsiae, 1873. This edition prints the Clementine of 1592 and criticizes it mainly from *codex Amiatinus*.

use and not for scholars. An illustration of the rule is given in the matter of those passages where Jerome has introduced a messianic sense without the justification of the Hebrew, e.g., Isa. 2:22; 16:1; 45:8; etc. The reading of the Vulgate is to be retained, and the proper sense of the Hebrew given in a footnote.

Much more significant for the ultimate reading of our version will be the other phase of this assistance. This permits clarifying, in the text itself, the sense of the Vulgate by having recourse to the original language. The proper meaning of tenses, of Hebrew idiom, of proper names, fall under this heading. But the principle seems to go farther. In the restoration of the proper names which Jerome interpreted, and in following the Hebrew text where Jerome plainly misunderstood it, we are going beyond the Vulgate; and this the principles seem to permit. Still, precaution is taken against this rule being too generously interpreted when the principles read that "textual differences between the Vulgate and its originals should not be noted in the text but in the footnotes."

Here arises one of the questions which will cause variation of opinion among both editors and revisors. Everyone is aware of the lapses in Jerome's version, of the obscurities of the Vulgate which are due to his failure to grasp the sense of the Hebrew. The question is this: are we to follow his inaccuracies when the passage can be improved by recourse to the Hebrew which he certainly had before him? As the principles stand, this is answered by the words: "Where the Latin presupposes but misunderstands the Hebrew text, the proper translation can be inserted in the text itself." Objection has already been raised to this rule on two scores. First, it is claimed that in such a case we should not be translating the Vulgate. Second, it would leave us without a fixed text. But the reply to the objections seems rather evident. First, we are preparing a vernacular version of the Scriptures, based, it is true, on the Vulgate, but not obligated in any way to errors in our Latin text. Second, our basic text is rendered all the more secure and fixed when it rests upon the immutable Hebrew, when we confirm the version of Jerome from the original text we know him to have used.

We are holding strictly to the Vulgate in the sense that we are making no effort to restore the original, nor speculating on the Hebrew text used by Jerome. Where the obscurity in the

Latin is due to the poor transmission of the Hebrew, we must abide by the given text, reserving for the commentary any attempt to provide a better reading. This will also apply to the infrequent cases in which Jerome departs from the Hebrew which he had before him.⁵ If the abandoned Hebrew reading gives a better sense we may include it in the footnotes. But when Jerome missed the sense of the text he was intending to translate, there is serious reason to reconsider his version in the light of the Hebrew. A striking instance is his translation of נִיּוֹ or his transfer of it, by the term *nugaces* on the excuse that the terms are the same, Hebrew being the mother of all languages (Soph. 3:18).⁶ Less bald, but not less significant instances of this will be numerous in every book.

This difficulty, however it is to be met, will bring out the fact that these principles regarding the treatment of the basic text leaves much to the prudent judgment of the revisors. They do not provide every assistance, but what they give should lead us to a more intelligible version of the Old Testament. They rest also on the fact that in the selection of the revisors preference was given to those who had already accomplished some fundamental work on the books entrusted to them. They assume that the text will be judged ultimately by the editors who drew up the rules, and therefore should understand well what they look for in the way of a version.

It may be observed that in these remarks we speak of a "version" as often as we do of a "revision." In determining the extent of the revision, that is, its relation to the current text, the editors took a more liberal view than they did in the case of the revision of the New Testament. The principles still advise us to respect the "diction, style and rhythm of the present text"; but it is granted that our reasons for doing so are not nearly as urgent as they were for the New Testament. Today we need have no great fear of disturbing our Old Testament in English, for it cannot be considered as familiar among our people. The chief motive, therefore, for retaining this principle at all is that

⁵ The late Dom Hugh Bévenot, O.S.B., remarks in his version of Nahum and Habakkuk (Westminster Version, Longmans, Green and Co., N. Y., 1937, p. xxxiv) that where his version of the Hebrew text differs from the Vulgate it is due almost entirely to the condition of the Hebrew text, which has suffered from copyists. This is high praise of the Vulgate.

⁶ Commentary on Sophonias, Migne, P.L., Vol. XXV.

we may have some standard by which to lessen the normally serious danger of variety of expression where so many revisors are involved.

To the degree, therefore, that he deems necessary, each revisor can make his own translation of the Latin Old Testament. As we shall see later, a new translation will not result. This freedom of expression throws more weight upon the principle which requires that the English expression be above all plain and clear, and in conformity with current usage. It also removes the temptation of adopting for our version anything like an artificial "Bible-English" which might result from imitating the current text. Still, it is admitted that in the end some effort will have to be made to secure uniformity in the expresison of the revision.

II

To illustrate this consideration of our principles, the tentative revision of the first chapter of Nahum is given here, together with an explanation of some of the changes. This passage is chosen to facilitate comparison of our version with those of Douay and of Challoner, from which the same text was printed in the last issue of this Quarterly.⁷ The italics indicate the main differences between our revision and that of Challoner. The work represents the combined effort of the revisor, his critic, and the special editor for the English.⁸ It has not been judged by the editor who is finally to pass on the version.

TITLE

Chap. 1, 1 The burden of Nineve: the book of the vision of Nahum, the *Elkoshite*.

I NINEVE SHALL PERISH AND ISRAEL BE SAVED

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|---|
| 2 | Vengeance of
the Lord | <i>A jealous and avenging God is the Lord,</i>
<i>The Lord avenges and is full of wrath;</i>
The Lord takes vengeance <i>upon</i> his adversaries,
And <i>lays up wrath</i> for his enemies. |
| 3 | | The Lord is <i>long-suffering</i> and great in power,
<i>But the Lord will by no means clear</i> the guilty.
In tempest and whirlwind is his <i>way</i> ,
And clouds are the dust of his feet. |

⁷ Cf. C. B. Q. 2 (1940), 218-220.

⁸ The Rev. P. W. Skehan, S.T.D., of the Catholic University of America, has kindly acted as critic for this revisor. The Rev. J. P. Christopher, Ph.D., of Darlington Seminary, has examined the English of this one chapter.

- 4 He rebukes the sea and dries it up,
 And *turns* all the rivers *into* a desert.
 Destroyed are Basan and Carmel,
 And the flower of Lebanon *languishes*.
- 5 The mountains *quake* at him,
 And the hills are made desolate;
 The earth *trembles* at his presence,
 The world, and all *who* dwell therein.
- 6 *Before his wrath* who can stand?
 And who *abide* the fierceness of his anger?
 His *fury* is poured out like fire,
 And the rocks are *rent asunder* by him.
- 7 The Lord is good and gives strength in the day of
 trouble;
 And he knows *those that* hope in him.
- 8 But with an *overflowing* flood
 He will make an utter end of the place thereof,
 And darkness will pursue his enemies.
- 9 Nineve shall What are you devising against the Lord?
 Perish He will make an utter end,
 Trouble shall not rise the second time.
- 10 For just as thorns are entangled,
 So is their assembly as of fellow-drinkers;
 They shall be consumed like stubble fully dry.
- 11 *From thee went* forth one *plotting* evil against
 the Lord,
 Planning wickedness.
- 12 Thus says the Lord:
 Though they be perfect *in strength*, and also
 many,
 Even so shall they be *cut down*, and he pass
 away;
 I have afflicted thee, *but* I will afflict thee no more.
- 13 And now I will *break* his rod *from* thy back,
 And burst asunder thy bonds.
- 14 *For* the Lord *has given* commandment *regarding*
 thee:
 There shall be sown of thy name *no longer;*
 From the house of thy *god* I will *cut off* the
 carved and molten *image;*
 I will *make thy grave*, for thou art *vile.*
- 15 Behold, upon the mountains the feet of him
 That brings good *news* and *announces* peace;
 Keep thy *feasts*, O Judah, *fulfill* thy *vows;*
 For the wicked one will no more pass through
 thee,
 He is *entirely* cut off.
- Judah's
 Salvation

In the first place it must be said that the revisor himself is by no means confident that he has made perfect application of the principles. One question presents itself to start with. In a poetic passage such as this, how far should we go in trying to preserve the form of the original? We cannot attend to the acrostic of this chapter. Nor can we require much in the way of determining stanzas, in which there remains so much of uncertainty. Are we to make some effort, as is done here, to bring out the parallelism of the original? This is more feasible, though the revisor is not sure that the method adopted here is the best.

The following will explain the main alterations in the passage, and raise some further questions.

1 *Burden*. There is a temptation to render this as "proclamation" or "indictment," as closer to **שָׁמַע**, a lifting of the voice. But Jerome in his commentary insists it is *grave onus*, or *pondus*. He therefore meant this to be the sense of his version. *Elkoshite* is nearer the spelling of the Hebrew.

2 The change in the first line of this verse is one only of word order, but it is demanded by both Vulgate and Hebrew. *Full of wrath*, to express **בָּעַר**, which is stronger than *habens*. *Lays up wrath* is the sense of **נָטַר**, which is supposed by the Vulgate.

3 *But the Lord will*: *et* is taken as adversative, and the divine name added here instead of to the next clause, following the punctuation of T.M. *By no means clear the guilty*: the reading of the Vg. supposes that of the T.M. Jerome explains it, "*nequaquam eos tamquam mundos et innocentes inultos abire patietur.*"

4 *Destroyed*: Jerome explains his *infirmatus* as *redigi in nihilum*.

5 *The world*: *et* has been omitted with LXX as unnecessary.

6 *Abide*: *resistet* does not mean "resist" as Challoner has it, but "to remain standing." The *in* of Vg. translates as a preposition **בְּ** which is the sign of the object. In his commentary Jerome agrees with Symmachus, "*Et quis sustinebit iram furoris eius?*"

7 There is here also a temptation to read with the Hebrew "stronghold" in place of "gives strength," and "take refuge" in place of "hope in."

8 *Overflowing*: this appears to be the sense of **עָבַר**, though Jerome explains it as "*diluvium quod pertranseat, non quod permaneat.*" *The place thereof* is difficult, but the reading is assured by the T.M. against LXX.

9 *The second time*: Jerome, following Symmachus, explains the *duplex* of the Vg., "Non sustinebunt impetum secundae angustiae."

10 *So is their assembly . . .*: presents a difficulty in the Hb. no less than in the Vg. Modern commentators are widely divided in their effort to restore the original. Jerome explains: "haereticorum foedera et necessitudines quasi spinae sunt se invicem complectentes, et convivium eorum atque mysteria . . . spinarum foedus est, simul vescentium, pariterque potantium."

11 *Plotting* is closer even to Latin than the present "imaging."

12 *Perfect in strength* is the meaning Jerome gives to *perfecti*. *He pass away*: some MSS of the Vg. change this to the plural *ad sensum*. The singular is the assured reading, but our version might also give the plural to improve the sense.

13 *Break his rod* is the sense of both Vg. and T.M., where מטה can mean "rod" as well as "yoke," and is taken so by Procksch in Kittel.

14 For the second part of this verse Jerome complains, "interpretationis varietate torquar." By adding "it" Challoner only injured further the meaning.

15 *The wicked one*: *Belial* of the Vg. is hardly expressive enough. In v. 11 the same term is translated *praevaricatio*.

III

While this one chapter will illustrate our method of improving the current English version of the Old Testament, it does not include all the ways in which that improvement is encouraged. From what we can see here, and from the wider experience on which this article is based, it would appear that the main lines along which our revision will move are these: 1) Adoption of different readings of the Latin in place of the Clementine; 2) Interpretation of the Vulgate from Jerome's commentaries; 3) Interpretation of the Latin through the Hebrew and other original languages; 4) Modification of the external form of the text; 5) Changes in English expression for clearness or for other reasons of style.

1) It is not likely that we shall have to depart very often from the Clementine text. In the five books revised by the writer, only 23 differences exist between the Clementine and *codex caraffianus*, and these are not always important enough to warrant

a change. It is, however, worth observing that in only five of these cases has the Clementine the support of the Hebrew. Some few modifications of the Clementine are induced from Jerome's commentary, when it is apparent that he did not intend the reading we now have. It is occasionally felt advisable to retain the Clementine in spite of these Latin helps, since its reading has the support of other ancient versions and appears to give a better sense.

2) In view of the fact that we are resting our version on the Vulgate, it is obvious that the commentaries of St. Jerome will be found of eminent value. But it will be necessary to take note of his method in order to secure the guidance we are after. That part of his comment which he calls anagogic, tropologic, or spiritual, does not meet our purpose since it is founded on the LXX. His own version follows the *veritas Hebraica*, and his comment on it, *secundum litteram*, reveals what he intended.

But even here not all of his remarks will be a real assistance. He is of most service to us when he gives the sense of his terms in the light of the Hebrew, and this is not seldom the case. We are, however, left in doubt as to how far we should follow him when he adds the version of Symmachus, saying that it is clearer or better; or when he provides another version, remarking "*sive ut in Hebraeo habetur*"; or when in his commentary he follows the Hebrew against his own version, as in Mich. 1:10-15. The view of the present writer is that in each of these cases he intends declaring what he considers the true sense of the passage, and therefore that we should follow him, even though this carries us somewhat away from the obvious sense of our Vulgate. Finally, he often admits his own uncertainty over an obscure passage, sometimes offering a provisional interpretation. Since this is due to the original, we must be satisfied with the best we can make of the Latin, above all omitting from our version anything that resembles speculation.⁹

It is in the course of his comments that we notice clearly the lapses in Jerome's work. Our principles admit the correction of some of these. We can follow the true meaning of Hebrew idioms, adopt the sense of the Hebrew verbs, be consistent in the

⁹ In this respect our revision will differ greatly from other modern versions, as that of the Westminster Version of the Scriptures. Cf. Bévenot's work referred to above.

translation of certain terms. But do the principles allow us to go farther? In verse 8 of the above passage his interpretation of עֵבֶר is weak, but he confirms it by his comment. Our principles again seem to encourage an improvement on his version in such cases, especially when he indicates that the Hebrew text he used was identical with our T.M. This is quite different from the method which would correct his version when it departs from the Hebrew, as it sometimes does, or when he finds the Hebrew corrupt, or when he deliberately follows the sense of the LXX.

3) There are some other peculiarities of Jerome's version upon which we can improve by recourse to the Hebrew. The agreement between his Hebrew text and our T.M. is well known; and yet the variations between the Vulgate and the T.M. are not few. When these are real textual variants, we follow the Vulgate, giving, if necessary, the Hebrew sense in the footnotes. But in many cases the adoption of the sense of the Hebrew appears imperative. Merely to illustrate, consider the frequent misinterpretation of the sign of the object in a verbal construction (אֶת, ל), or the too liberal understanding of a Hebrew term, as of נָקָה in Nah. 1:3. When we face different constructions due to Jerome's interpretation, or the same radicals which he read with vowels differing from our T.M., or when he adds or omits terms, it is not clear how far we may go in correcting his version. The presumption is that we should be reserved.

Greater freedom should be felt in taking the accurate sense of certain terms from the Hebrew. St. Jerome often employed a stereotyped Latin term which does not always reach the full meaning of the Hebrew. Thus the frequent translation of חַסֵּם as *iniquitas* in place of the stronger "violence." Confer also his variation of the term בִּייעַל in Nah. 1:11,15. Further, the punctuation of the Hebrew in the T.M. will offer a better sense. The *vav conversivum* must be examined with care. All of these are commonplaces, but they will play a constant part in our effort to provide a better version of the Old Testament.

One further detail comes to mind on which we still need guidance. We are translating the Vulgate *Dominus* as "Lord." When it stands for the tetragrammaton, *Dominus* should be distinguished from its use as an attribute. How this is to be done in our version has not been determined. "Jehovah" is far from acceptable, though it is used in the Westminster version, and

there is also some objection to "Yahweh." Further, *Dominus* in the Vulgate translates not only the tetragrammaton, but likewise אלהים and אדני. The inclination of the present writer would be to follow the reading of T.M., and always print the tetragrammaton as "LORD," אלהים always as "God," and other divine names in the ordinary way, where it is possible.

4) The external form we are giving to our version, paragraphs in place of the present separate verses, and distinction for the poetic passages, presents more difficulty than might at first appear. The addition of headings, both in the text and in the margin, increases this difficulty. The fact is that the interpretation of each book will have to determine its form and its headings, and this is not always a simple matter. In the five books which this writer has examined, with few exception there is no agreement even among Catholic authors as to the exact divisions. In this matter, as in the whole revision, it is assumed that the revisors will adopt a conservative position. The commentary will be available for discussion of these questions; the text itself must be free from uncertainties.

5) Finally, as for the English expression, without trying in any way to follow the style of the older English versions, the revisor will find himself adopting the terms on which they seem to agree. This is entirely justified. Many of the available English versions show the influence of the King James Bible. The Revised Version, of course, has copied it. The text issued by the Jewish Publication Society¹⁰ admits dependency on it. The versions of J. M. Powis Smith,¹¹ of James Moffatt,¹² and of the Westminster group,¹³ while independent in principle, will be found holding rather closely at least to the terminology of the King James. The last three of these are rather liberal in their

¹⁰ *The Holy Scriptures*. The Jewish Publication Society of America, Phila., 1939. The editor in chief of this version is Max L. Margolis.

¹¹ *The Bible, An American Translation*. The Old Testament translated by a group of scholars under the editorship of J. M. Powis Smith. University of Chicago Press, 1935.

¹² *The Bible, A New Translation*. By James Moffatt. N. Y., Harper Bros., 1935.

¹³ *The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures*. General editor, Cuthbert Lattey, S.J., M.A. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. (But a few of the books of the Old Testament have been completed in this version.)

correction of the Hebrew text, and this makes for a new style in expression.

The above illustration from Nahum will indicate the extent to which our version will probably agree with the Challoner text. Here the policy of our work as a revision will have its effect. When the current text is accurate and clear enough, and when its idiom is close enough to that of our own time, there is little reason for abandoning it. We might, each one, attempt an entirely new English version, something after the manner of Moffatt; but the purpose of our work can be secured without this novelty, and perhaps much better without it. In the process of editing, when effort is made to reach some uniformity of English expression, further changes may have to be admitted. But with this general inclination to retain what we can of the present text, we can still reach what the enterprise ambitions.

It is evident that much of our revision of the Old Testament will rely on the judgment of the revisors and editors. But it should not be felt on this account that the effort is still clouded with uncertainties. The principles we have adopted are definite enough in their general direction. If some questions still remain for solution, they can be brought to discussion at our meetings, or be aired in the pages of this Quarterly.¹⁴ The secretary of the Editorial Board and the editors of the Quarterly are prepared to entertain any suggestions that the members of the Association care to make. If in this way we can arrive at a more worthy English version of our Old Testament, any discussion of our problems should be welcome.

WILLIAM L. NEWTON.

¹⁴ A report of the meeting of the Editorial Board at Toronto will appear in the January, 1941, issue of the C.B.Q. At that meeting some of the questions raised in this paper were discussed and settled.

THE ORIGIN OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

In a previous article of *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* (October, 1939) I have maintained that the tradition regarding the authorship of the Gospels found in the Church of about A.D. 200 could be accounted for only by the supposition that it was true. This tradition does not, of course, settle the matter dogmatically. It is not to be identified with that divine tradition which tells us what our Lord and His Spirit revealed to the Apostles about the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation, the inspiration, and the divine authority of Sacred Scripture; it is rather one of those human traditions which refer to such matters, of lesser moment, as discipline, customs, practices, mere human historical facts, such as the date of composition, the integrity of the text, the human authorship, etc. of the Sacred Books.¹

One could deny that St. Matthew wrote the Gospel assigned to him without being a heretic; but one could not do so without showing himself to be as a historian rash and unable to appreciate evidence.

But in the case of our first Gospel how many people we are accusing of rashness! "All modern critics," according to the late Professor Bacon of Yale. "In spite," he says, "of the widespread and undisputed tradition of the second century, which from Papias downward declares our first Gospel the direct handiwork of the Apostle Matthew, modern criticism is unanimous in declaring it irreconcilable with the contents" (*Expositor*, Oct. 1920, p. 294).

"All modern critics" are in the language of Bacon critics who are independent of the Church; and, with few exceptions, non-Catholics of the present day are as hostile to the tradition concerning our first Gospel as when Bacon wrote twenty years ago. Why this is so is hard to say. Of course, most of our opponents claim that they are not influenced by the fact that the Gospel contains narratives about supernatural occurrences; but as in the case when Harnack fell into the critical heresy of admitting the authenticity of St. Luke, a psychological difficulty of extraordinary proportions is met with when unbelievers admit that a book replete with miracles was written by an honest reporter who was very close to the miracle worker. One is not forced to believe such a reporter simply because he is a contemporary of

¹ See Grannan, *A General Introduction to the Bible*, Vol. IV. p. 125.

the events related. Many rationalists read stories about the miracles of Lourdes in their daily paper without making an act of faith and coming back to the Church. So lack of faith in the supernatural need not make it necessary to deny that the first Gospel was written by an Apostle. But it is not uncharitable to suppose that it has a good deal to do with the verdict of "modern criticism." The contents which rationalists object to is particularly miracle stories. Another reason given by very many who reject the ancient tradition that Matthew wrote the Gospel assigned to him, is that this tradition is coupled with another, that concerning the language in which Matthew wrote. One might think it very logical and easy to separate these two traditions and say that St. Matthew wrote the gospel, but not in Aramaic. As a matter of fact critics confuse the two questions and reject the Matthean authorship if they think they see reasons to reject the tradition (relatively unimportant) that the Gospel was written in Aramaic. As a sample of those who mix up these two different subjects let us quote Archdeacon Allen in his *International Critical Commentary* (p. lxxxix) :

"If," he writes, "we interpret *τά λόγια* in Papias as equivalent to 'the Gospel' we have a uniform second century tradition (Papias, Irenaeus) repeated in the third (Origen) and in the fourth (Eusebius) that the first Gospel was written by Matthew the toll-gatherer and Apostle in Hebrew. The necessary inference would be that our Canonical gospel is a translation of the original Apostolic work."

But, says "*modern criticism*," it is not a translation of a Hebrew (or Aramaic) work. Ergo the whole tradition must be rejected.

A distinction would seem to be in order. One might accept the very strong, wide-spread, unanimous, uncontradicted tradition that Matthew wrote a Gospel and refuse to accept the other less strongly witnessed tradition that he wrote in the language of the Hebrews. Let us glance at this second tradition, endeavoring to keep it distinct from the first.

THE ARAMAIC GOSPEL

Papias, who is the first to say anything about an Aramaic Gospel, wrote in the first half of the second century. Eusebius devotes to him a chapter of his *Ecclesiastical History* immediate-

ly after his notice of Clement of Rome (c. 90-100). He was, in St. Irenaeus' words, "a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, a man of primitive times" (*Adversus Haereses* v. 33:4). He writes, as quoted by Eusebius: "So then, Matthew composed the oracles of the Lord in the Hebrew language; but everybody interpreted him as he was able."

We cannot here undertake anything like an adequate discussion of the exact meaning of these few words. They were made famous by Schleiermacher more than a hundred years ago when he suggested that Papias was not referring to the first Gospel as a whole but to one of its sources, a collection of the sayings of our Lord. This collection would have been one of the sources of our present Gospel; and the fact that it is the principal part of the Gospel would justify its ascription to St. Matthew.

This view of Schleiermacher is held to be possible even in such an up to the minute book as *An Introduction to the New Testament* by Kirsopp Lake and Sylva Lake (1939). The great majority, however, of the best critics of all schools (including the late M. Loisy) have agreed with Catholics that Papias was thinking of our Greek Matthew such as it is. Professor Bacon says: "Papias mentions only the sayings of Christ, not because St. Matthew recorded nothing else but because he himself was concerned only with these, and St. Matthew's Gospel, as distinguished from St. Mark's, was the greatest storehouse for his purpose." (*l.c.*).

The principal reason for this view is that in Papias' time the Greek Matthew was well known in the Church, however early we may place this ancient Bishop of Hieropolis. It was known by St. Clement of Rome in the first century and early in the second by St. Ignatius the bishop-martyr of Antioch, and the writer of the Didachè. So great is its influence that Streeter says: "Both Ignatius and the Didachè, the earliest Syrian documents we possess, habitually speak of 'the Gospel' as if it were the name of a book having a certain authority; and whenever the same sayings occur in Matthew and in either of these, their versions are always secondary. They stand to Matthew as the preacher to his text."²

This learned author gathers from the use of Matthew in early writings that "it is difficult to assign to the Gospel a date much later than 85."

² *The Four Gospels*, by Burnett Hillman Streeter, The Macmillan Company, 1925, p. 511.

This work, used by the earliest churchmen whose writings have come down to us, is our Greek Gospel. All quotations come from it. Incidentally, these early writers quote the Greek text as inspired, as we gather from their insistence on the very words of the Evangelist. Thus St. Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* iii. 16. 2) remarks: "Matthew might have said, 'The generation of Jesus was thus,' but the Holy Spirit foreseeing the corruptors (of the truth) and guarding by anticipation against their deceit, says through Matthew, 'The generation of Christ was thus.'" Father Lagrange says somewhere on this point, "The Gospel in Greek is the canonical Gospel, always used by the Church as an inspired work. She treated it exactly like the text of St. Luke, who without any doubt wrote in Greek."

From the way the first Gospel was used one would never think that it was a translation; but there is a very reputable tradition that it was written in the language of the Hebrews. Papias, as we have said, is the first to speak of it. Eusebius who does not like Papias' teaching on the millennium calls him a man of exceedingly small intelligence; but one may not lightly put aside his assertion concerning a fact. The same assertion is made (many critics say repeated) with variations and extensions by St. Irenaeus, Origen, Eusebius and others and it has been rejected by none of the ancients. There is, then, a tradition that St. Matthew wrote in Aramaic; but one can understand that it may not make a very strong impression. It appears possible that Papias was mistaken and that the other very learned witnesses of the tradition may simply have been following Papias. Even Catholics are not obliged by the decision of the Biblical Commission to hold that St. Matthew certainly did write in Aramaic. After teaching in its decree concerning St. Matthew that we may and must believe in the authorship of St. Matthew the Commission treats the Aramaic origin of his Gospel as an *opinion*, sufficiently supported by tradition. Would that "modern critics" would likewise distinguish the two distinct questions of *authorship* and *authorship in Aramaic*. If they were to give due consideration to the evidence that our Gospel was written by the Apostle Matthew, without discussing the original language, there would be much more likelihood that they would realize the value of the *testimonia veterum* concerning its authorship.

IS MARK A SOURCE OF MATTHEW?

There is a close relationship between Mark and Matthew. Ninety percent of the contents of the former are found also in the latter; and the likeness of the two books extends not only to their contents but also to the order in which they relate things and even to their wording. There are, however, obvious differences. Mark has no Gospel of the Infancy; it has not the Sermon on the Mount. It narrates much more in detail the episodes which are common to it and the first Gospel. But it would seem that one can better explain the resemblances and differences by saying that Matthew used Mark as a source of information, adding to its narrative according to his purpose, than by saying that Mark followed Matthew and nevertheless omitted such important things as those which we have mentioned.

We may add that St. Matthew's Greek is better than that of St. Mark and that he seems to improve upon and correct the language of the latter. It is less easy to suppose that St. Mark changed St. Matthew's Gospel for the worse in this respect.

The language of St. Matthew too appears to reflect more developed theology. One must avoid exaggerations. When St. Mark says that Jesus *could not* work many miracles in Nazareth he does not really mean that it was impossible for the Son of God (and St. Mark believes in the divinity of Christ) to do as He liked in the matter of healings, but he uses language which is less fitting than that of St. Matthew in the parallel passage.

Dom Chapman, in his posthumous volume on *Matthew, Mark and Luke*, represents St. Peter at Rome in possession of the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew and using it as a text in his addresses to the Romans. So St. Mark could hear and read this Gospel of St. Matthew. He had only to add to it the picturesque traits from St. Peter's discourses. Dom Chapman does not, however, explain the omissions of St. Mark, his inferior Greek in parallel passages, or his inferior theology; much less can he explain how a book written under such circumstances is so living and so picturesque. It is hard to see why Peter's disciple should have written at all if the Romans already possessed a Gospel which contained ninety percent of what he had to say and expressed it much better than he could do. The second Gospel is indeed most interesting and valuable to the modern reader because its author gives a most detailed picture of our Lord as the

Apostles saw Him and because it seems more interested than the other gospels in history for its own sake; but the ancients were less interested in such details as Mark would have added to Matthew. One finds few citations of Mark in early writers, and commentaries upon it were quite rare in antiquity.

There are only two ways of accounting for the phenomena we notice when we compare the two Gospels, dependence of one upon another and oral tradition. Dom Chrystopher Butler, O.S.B., of Downside, rightly remarks that we should not think of an earlier document: "Unless external considerations urge, it is unscientific to conjecture hypothetical documents to explain correspondences for which a theory of direct inter-dependence is sufficient."³ Of the other two ways only interdependence may be thought of: the correspondences or identities reach a certain degree of minuteness which excludes the hypothesis of a merely oral connection, and we may conclude that St. Matthew is indebted to St. Mark—to some extent.

On June 11, 1911, the Biblical Commission answered affirmatively the question: "Whether the opinion must be considered sufficiently supported by the testimony of tradition, which holds that Matthew wrote before the other Evangelists and that he wrote the first Gospel in the Hebrew dialect then in use by the Jews of Palestine, for whom the work was intended."

As in the case of the Hebrew original, the Commission refrains from saying that we may and must hold the traditional *opinion*; and it makes it plain that the decision does not refer to the Greek Matthew with which we are here dealing. This Greek Gospel may be said to be indebted to St. Mark.

Those who think there was no Aramaic Gospel are justified as regarding as very probable the view that the Gospel of St. Matthew as it has come down to us in the Greek language borrowed from St. Mark. For those of us who assume that there was an Aramaic Gospel, substantially the same as our Greek Gospel, the solution of the problem is a little more complicated. We have to account for the likenesses in material, order and wording of our present Matthew and our present Mark, while allowing for the fact that St. Matthew wrote first, in Aramaic. I do not think we should say that St. Mark utilized the Aramaic work of his predecessor; otherwise, how account for the fact that there

³ *Harvard Theological Review* for October 1939, p. 237.

are so many omissions of things which must have been in the original—the Infancy Gospel, the Sermon on the Mount, etc. The Aramaic Matthew and the Greek Mark were written without interdependence. They had, it seems more likely, a common source—the oral teaching of St. Peter and St. Matthew in Palestine. This would account largely for the common material; as for the common order and language it would be enough to remark that the translator of Matthew may have used St. Mark, in his very difficulty of rendering the original into Greek. He may in places have adopted the order of Mark; possibly he made some borrowing of material, but not to such an extent as to change it *substantially*.

LUKE'S INDEBTEDNESS TO MATTHEW

Much of the Gospel of St. Matthew is common to it and the Gospel of St. Luke. The amount of this common matter is some two hundred verses. In many cases the correspondence is so minute as to require either a common written source or dependence of one upon another.

The theory of a common source is preferred by most literary critics, who give this hypothetical document the name of Q (*Quelle*). Sir John Hawkins expresses this view in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, under the heading, "The Probabilities of the So-Called Double Tradition of St. Matthew and St. Luke":

"A considerable number of parallels are so close, extending to the wording, that a documentary source is the most natural and reasonable, whatever may be the explanation of other and slighter parallels."

In the most interesting article of *The Harvard Theological Review* for October, 1939, already referred to, Dom Butler takes issue with this Q hypothesis on the ground that "unless external considerations urge, it is unscientific to conjecture hypothetical documents to explain correspondences for which a theory of interdependence is sufficient."

In this case, contends Dom Butler, interdependence is sufficient. There is, he maintains, nothing to show that St. Matthew depended on St. Luke; there is on the contrary very good reason to think that St. Luke utilized St. Matthew's Gospel in its Greek form.

Difficulties crowd to the mind. It is hard to account for the differences between the two Evangelists in the matter of their very different Infancy Gospels, their accounts of the Resurrection appearances, etc. But Dom Butler does not regard those differences as inexplicable on the supposition that St. Luke had read St. Matthew. He appears to prove time after time that there is a literary dependence on the part of the third Gospel; and he makes out a very strong case for the view that it is unscientific and unnecessary to postulate Q. In some cases, indeed, he postulates the utilization by St. Luke of oral tradition, probably in Syria.

If one is not convinced by the arguments of Dom Butler he may stick to the theory that St. Matthew and St. Luke had a common document, which as we have seen is called Q. One suggestion regarding Q is in perfect conformity with the tradition concerning the origins of the Gospels as set forth by the Biblical Commission. If we suppose that Q was an earlier incomplete translation of the Aramaic Matthew, made before the appearance of the complete translation which ultimately prevailed and that St. Luke had access to this earlier, incomplete version, we have a hypothetical document which meets all the requirements.

One is no longer obliged, however, in the best critical circles to use the Q exclusively to account for the matter common to Matthew and Luke and not found in Mark. The view of those who used to hold the Two-Document theory, condemned by the Biblical Commission, is fast losing ground. One of the ablest and most scholarly writers on biblical subjects in recent years, the late B. H. Streeter in his work entitled *The Four Gospels, a Study of Origins*, has argued very convincingly that beside Mark and Q St. Luke has much strictly Lucan matter! In other words, as one might have suspected, St. Luke had learned a good deal in his travels and his readings which was not in the famous two documents Dom Chapman used to believe in. Many have followed Streeter, and his view now takes in "strictly Matthean matter." Let us quote on this interesting development the words of two authors who are very keen, well-informed and only too independent: "In addition to Mark and Q, Matthew and Luke each have much material not found elsewhere" (Kirsopp and Sylvia Lake, *Introduction*, p. 14). They advise us, if we continue to speak of Q at all, to understand it as meaning not only *source* but *sources*.

DATE OF THE GOSPEL

Tradition does not tell us very much about the date of our first Gospel, and most of what it says refers to the Aramaic original. St. Irenaeus in the beginning of his third book *Adversus Haereses* argues that all should accept the Apostolic teaching. After the Apostles were thoroughly instructed by the Lord, he says, they preached the Gospel, and some afterwards wrote it down. St. Matthew preached first to his fellow-countrymen, and then wrote his Gospel while Sts. Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and founding the Church. His purpose does not seem to be to give the exact date of the Gospel; and one need not suppose that he meant to affirm that St. Matthew wrote at the very time the Apostles met, just before their death, which was in 67—or as some say, 64.

If we think, with Dom Butler, that St. Luke was indebted to St. Matthew, we may put the date of the Greek Gospel earlier than 62, as there are good reasons to date the third Gospel and Acts about that time.

Eusebius (*E.H.* iii. 24. 6) says: "Matthew first of all preached to Hebrews; and when he was about to go also to others he committed his gospel to writing in his native tongue: thus he made his writing compensate those from whom he was departing for the lack of his bodily presence."

We do not know when St. Matthew left Palestine; writers on the subject often venture the opinion that it was in 42 A.D. This view is doubtless founded on the tradition that the Apostles left Palestine at that time, some twelve years after the Resurrection. It is the traditional date of Peter's arrival at Rome.

Eusebius' statement, like that of St. Irenaeus, refers to the Aramaic Matthew. Our Greek Matthew can hardly have been written so early. But since it was in circulation about 85 A.D., as we gather from the way that St. Ignatius and others used it, it must have been written some time before. One may gather that it had been written before the destruction of Jerusalem from the fact that our Lord's prophecy of this even, is given in such a way that it is hard to distinguish what refers to that event and what to the end of the world. St. Matthew, had he written after 70, would have made his report clearer. A less impressive but a real argument is given by Dom Chapman (*Matthew, Mark and Luke*,

p. 255). After calling attention to Mt. 27:8, which says that the field purchased with Judas' money for the burial of strangers "is called Haceldama, that is, field of blood, until this day," he remarks: "After the siege (68-70) there would be no question of the field or of the burial of strangers, or a nickname of the place." No definite date can be inferred, he adds. "'Until this day' might be written five years afterwards or thirty-five."

WENDELL S. REILLY, S.S.

THE PROPHECY OF BALAAM

The most interesting and the most important passages in the Old Testament are those that in any way refer to Christ, for as He is the center of God's Providence, so He is the center of Sacred Scripture. A study then of any messianic text is interesting and important.

Such interest and such importance we hope to find in the study and interpretation of the messianic prophecy of Balaam, Num. 24:15-19. The following order will be followed: a) Historical setting of the prophecy, b) Textual criticism of the prophecy, c) Interpretation of the prophecy, d) Balaam and the prophecy, e) Summary.

A recent book has focused interest on this prophecy. It is a posthumous work, the third in the Bellarmine Series. The author is Fr. Eric Burrows, S.J., the book being entitled *The Oracles of Jacob and Balaam*. Hence the timeliness of a paper on this prophecy is apparent.

THE HISTORICAL SETTING

The Israelites were nearing the completion of their forty years' sojourn in the desert. They had conquered the Amorrites: "So Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorrite" (Num. 21:31). They had slain Og, the king of Basan and his people and they possessed the land (Num. 21:33-35). "And they went forward and encamped in the plains of Moab, over against where Jericho is situated beyond the Jordan" (Num. 22:1). It was a year or two before the crossing of the river Jordan, shortly before Moses viewed the Promised Land and then was gathered to his fathers. According to the two most acceptable dates, early and late, we may state the time c. 1400 B.C. or c. 1180 B.C.

And Balac the son of Sephor, seeing all that Israel had done to the Amorrite, and that the Moabites were in great fear of him, and were not able to sustain his assault, He said to the elders of Midian: So will this people destroy all that dwell in our borders, as the ox is wont to eat the grass to the very roots. Now he was at that time king in Moab. He sent therefore messengers to Balaam the son of Beor, a soothsayer, who dwelt by the river of the land of the children of Ammon, to call him, and to say: Behold a people is come out of Egypt, that hath covered the face of the earth, sitting over against me. Come therefore, and curse this people, because it is mightier than I, if by any means I may beat them and drive them out of my land. For I

know that he whom thou shalt bless is blessed, and he whom thou shalt curse is cursed (Num. 22:2-6).

After consulting God, Balaam refused to go, "because the Lord hath forbid me to come with you," he told the messengers of Balac. Another delegation finally prevailed upon him; God however was angry and an angel of the Lord stood in the way against Balaam. His ass refused to continue, whereupon Balaam beat her. And the Lord opened the mouth of the ass; Balaam then understood the intervention of God, who ordered him, Balaam, "to go with these men, and see thou speak no other thing than what I shall command thee" (Num. 22:13-35).

The utterances of Balaam, four in number, have as their general location the country of Moab; specifically they were delivered on mountains surrounding the plains of Moab where dwelt the Israelites.

In the morning Balac brought Balaam to the high places of Baal, and he beheld the uttermost part of the people. Balaam ordered seven altars to be built and seven calves and seven rams to be prepared as a burnt offering to God. Balaam delivered his first utterance; instead of cursing Israel, he blessed the nation. He says that he cannot curse that which God has blessed; he proclaims Israel a distinct and separate people, not reckoned among the nations, a great and powerful nation, peculiarly united to Yahweh. Balaam wishes that his own end would be like theirs (Num. 23:1-10).

The second utterance follows the same order as the first: Balaam is taken to the top of Mount Phasga (or Pisgah, a part of the mountain-chain of Abarim, in close proximity to Mount Nebo, a short distance southwest of the ancient town of Heshbon). Here the same ritual is performed and again Balaam blesses instead of curses Israel. God will not change his mind concerning Israel; God protects Israel, hence no magic prevails against the people. Strong as a lion, Israel shall conquer its enemies (Num. 23:14-25).

The third utterance has for its location the top of Mount Phogor, which looketh toward the wilderness. The Hebrew has Mount Peor; the exact location is not known, but apparently it was in the vicinity of the previous location. "Toward the wilderness" very likely indicates the plain where encamped the Israelites. Again seven altars are built, a calf and a ram laid on each altar, but "when Balaam saw that it pleased the Lord that he

should bless Israel, he went not as he had gone before, to seek divination." On the two previous occasions Balaam had gone to meet Yahweh; this time he does not do so, yet he felt "the spirit of God rushing upon him." In this prophecy Balaam describes the happiness and prosperity of Israel, which shall conquer its enemies and enjoy peace (Num. 24:1-9).

Balac was angry, clapping his hands to show his displeasure; he told Balaam to return to his place. Without any preliminaries Balaam utters his fourth prophecy: "But yet going to my people, I will give thee counsel, what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days." He refers to himself as the hearer of the words of God, describes the rise of a star and a sceptre out of Israel who shall conquer Moab and Edom. He then continues to describe the fate of Amalec and the Cinite and other nations (Num. 24:14-25).

TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE PROPHECY

Vv. 15 and 16 serve as an introduction to the prophecy.

15. The utterance of Balaam, son of Beor

And the utterance of the man whose eye is opened.

The origin of the name Balaam or Bileam is not certain. Some derive it from בלע and בלעל "destroyer of the people"; others connect it with "without a people," or "Bel is my kinsman." Beor may mean "torch" or "burning." The phrase "whose eye is opened" is doubtful due to textual corruption. The Vulgate has "cuius obturatus est oculus"; this supposes שְׁתָּם instead of שְׁתָּם. The LXX has "who sees truly." The root שָׁחַ "to open" is found here and in v. 3 of this same chapter. The Targum has paraphrased this passage: who is able to see what will happen in the future.¹ The Vulgate rendition does not refer to physical blindness, although Greenstone² quotes a Jewish Rabbi to the effect that Balaam was blind in one eye; Hummelauer³ interprets this as an "ecstatic sleep," in which Balaam received his revelation (cf. Gen. 15:12). Since the reading is doubtful, it is hardly possible to give a correct interpretation of the phrase.

¹ Quoted by Greenstone, *Holy Scriptures with Commentary*, Numbers (1939), p. 263.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

³ *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae, Commentarius in Numeros* (1899), p. 289.

16. The utterance of the one hearing the words of El
 And knowing the thoughts of the Most High
 Who seeth the vision of the Almighty
 Who falleth down and his eyes are opened.

Except for the second line this verse is identical with verse 4 of this same chapter. Three different words are employed for God: El, Elyon and Shaddai. This does not mean different sources; it signifies the use of synonyms by reason of the poetic form. The last line has received varied translations. The LXX reads: In sleep, his eyes being uncovered. The Vulgate reads: *qui cadens apertos habet oculos*. The Targum has: while asleep He reveals Himself to him. The MT may begin: falling down or fallen down, and his eyes were opened. "Fallen down" may refer to the exhaustion consequent upon the prophetic frenzy, such as we find in 1 Kgs. 19:24. So Hummelauer.⁴ The remainder of the phrase would then mean the revival of the physical forces, which would be recorded by the recording of the revelation. Whatever the meaning, the verse itself indicates the source of the revelation, Yahweh, and not through any magical art.

17. I see him but not now
 I behold him but not near
 A star shall step forth from Jacob
 And a sceptre shall rise out of Israel
 And shall smite both sides of Moab
 And shall break down the sons of Seth.

Instead of the future we use the present, since this better represents the Hebrew imperfect. The word "him" may refer to Israel: The prophet sees Israel, not as it is now, but as it shall be "in the latter days" (v. 14). Or it may refer to the "star," the "sceptre." The second is preferred.

"A star shall step forth." Instead of כֹּכַב the LXX, Peshitta, and Vulgate suppose יָרֵא shall arise; the meaning is not changed. Tradition attests this: The LXX has "man"; the Peshitta "leader"; the Onkelos "Messias." The term "sceptre" indicates the dominant position of glory of him whom Balaam beholds. Due to parallelism "Star" has a personal meaning; there is no doubt that "sceptre" is a figure of speech denoting one who rules.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 289.

"And shall smite both sides of Moab." The Hebrew has the dual פַּאֲחִי, which the moderns interpret as "both sides" a reference to the total ruin of Moab. The ancient versions have "leaders." In either case Balaam prophesies the total destruction of Moab.

"And shall break down the sons of Seth." This passage is difficult. The LXX, Vulgate, and Targum interpret Seth in a personal sense. Besides destroying the parallelism, this interpretation would mean that the Israelites, who would be included under the sons of Seth, would be destroyed by the "sceptre" rising out of Israel! A slight emendation of the text שֵׁטָה for שֵׁת, would give us "sons of tumult"; the context demands a proper name. Recurrence is had to a parallel passage in Jer. 48:45. "...and it shall devour part of Moab, and the crown of the head of the children of tumult (Shaon)." "Sons of Shaon" seems then to have been a title applied to the Moabites because of their bellicose nature. Our text would then read: "And shall break down all the sons of Shaon." The parallelism is preserved, yet as Fr. Bea remarks⁵ it is difficult to find the etymological connection between Seth and Shaon. Perhaps Seth is an ancient name for Moab, as Seir was for Edom.

18. And Edom shall be a possession
 And Seir shall be a possession, his enemies
 And Israel shall display valor.

The general sense is clear. The Edomites shall become the possession of this future person who shall wield the sceptre, as Israel pursues its victorious career. The text seems to be corrupt, as the parallelism prevailing throughout the prophecy is destroyed. Seir is the ancient name of Edom (Judges 5, 4). The same term "possession" in the two lines is awkward, "his enemies" is out of place.⁶ Possibly the second line is a gloss, with "his enemies" belonging to the first line of verse 19.

19. And he shall dominate from Jacob

And he shall destroy the escaped from the city.

Obscurity prevails. First of all, the subject is indefinite. The context seems to demand that the subject be the future "star" and "sceptre." Secondly there should be an object for the verb

⁵ Bea, *De Pentateucho* (editio altera, 1933), p. 214.

⁶ Gray, *Numbers* (1906, The International Critical Commentary), p. 372; Ceuppens, *De Prophetiis messianicis in Antiquo Testamento* (1935), p. 90.

“to dominate.” Ceuppens⁷ introduces “his enemies” from the previous verse: “and Jacob shall dominate his enemies.” Thirdly “from the city” is obscure. One interpretation gives us the collective sense, “from the cities”; this would mean the utter destruction of the enemies of the dominator, even those fleeing from the cities are to be destroyed. Others⁸ read עַר instead of עִיר, Ar being the principal city of Moab. Thus the dominator from Jacob would so destroy his enemies that even those escaped from Ar would be taken.

In this prophecy to Israel is promised a king clothed with splendor (star) and endowed with authority (sceptre); this king will destroy the enemies of Israel, Moab and Edom; he will rule over his enemies.

INTERPRETATION

The fact of the prophecy has been denied; some say that it was written after the victory of David over Moab and proposed as a prophecy. The basis of this interpretation is the assumption that prophecy is not possible—*quod gratis asseritur gratis negatur*.

Others retain the prophecy, but deny its messianic import. A king or prince will come who will totally overthrow Moab and Edom; David is prominent by reason of his victory over the Moabites (2 Kgs. 8:2).⁹

Still others admit the messianic import, but only by an extension of the sense. Since, they argue, there is question of a material battle with Moab and Edom, the prophecy has its literal fulfillment in David. The Messiah is not a material warrior, nevertheless because he overcomes his enemies in a higher sense we may say that this prophecy refers to him.¹⁰

We prove the messianism of this prophecy:

a) From Jewish tradition, which has always interpreted this passage as referring to the Messiah. The *Targum* of *Onkelos* in response to the question, when should the prophecy of Balaam be fulfilled, has this answer: “When a king shall arise from

⁷ *Op. cit.* (1935), p. 90.

⁸ Ceuppens, *op. cit.*, p. 90; Bea, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

⁹ E. Koenig, *Messian. Weissag.* p. 111.—Dennefeld, article on *Messianism* in the D. T. C., vol. 10 (1929), col. 1420.

¹⁰ H. Ewald, *Geschichte Israels*, t. 1, p. 145. R. Schultz: *Alt. Theologie*, p. 724. (Quoted by Ceuppens, *op. cit.*, p. 92.)

Jacob and he shall be anointed the Messiah from Israel and shall put to death the leaders of Moab and shall reign over all men." In 132 A.D. the leader of the revolt against Hadrian was called Simon Bar-Kokeba, i.e., son of a Star, which name was applied to him because he was considered the Messiah, with obvious reference to the prophecy of Balaam. The story of the Magi is an indication that in the mind of the Jews there was a connection between the Messiah and a star. It is to be noted however that in the prophecy the star indicates a person, whereas in Matthew the star is a sign of his advent.¹¹

b) From Christian tradition, which has followed in the footsteps of Jewish tradition. Theodoret¹² noted the fact that it pleased some to say that Balaam predicted nothing concerning the Savior; then he proceeds to show how the prophecy is fulfilled in Christ alone.

Jerome¹³ in his letter praising Fabiola says that she asked him many questions pertaining to Sacred Scripture; among them is a question with regard to the mysteries of Christ predicted by Balaam.

We simply refer to Origen,¹⁴ Irenaeus,¹⁵ and Augustine,¹⁶ who assert the messianic import of this passage.

c) The context demands a messianic explanation. In verse 14 we find the introduction to the prophecy. "But yet going to my people, I will give thee counsel, what this people shall do to thy people *in the latter days*." "In the latter days" or "in the end of days" is a reference to the future: the indeterminate future, writes Greenstone; Driver says "denoting the final period of the future so far as it falls within the range of the speaker's perspective."¹⁷ This same expression is found in Gen. 49:1; Jacob introduces his prophecy with the words: "Gather yourselves together that I may tell you the things that shall befall you in the last days." In Isa. 2:2 and Mich. 4:1 we find the same expression with regard to the same prophecy—the grandeur of the house of the Lord, the Church. In Daniel 10:14: "I am come

¹¹ Ceuppens, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

¹² Theodoret: *Quaest. in Num.* c. 44. MPG 80, 394.

¹³ Jerome, ep. 77 ad Oceanum, MPL 22, 695.

¹⁴ Origen, *In Numeros*, MPG 12, 619.

¹⁵ Irenaeus, *Fragmenta*, MPG 7, 1242.

¹⁶ Augustine, *De Mirabilibus S.S.*, MPL 35, 2173.

¹⁷ Quoted by Gray, *Numbers* (1906, I.C.C.), p. 368.

to teach thee what things shall befall thy people in the latter days . . ." Scriptural usage ordinarily indicates messianic times by the expression "in the latter days."

A study of the prophecy in context with reference to Jewish history shows that the prophecy has its fulfilment only in Christ. By reason of the words "in the latter days" the fulfilment of this prophecy will be later than the fulfilment of the previous three. But all admit, even the most radical, that the previous three prophecies reached their reality in Davidic times. Since there can be question of David or the Messiah in this prophecy, and of no other, it must refer to the Messiah. So argues Ceuppens.¹⁸

It is certain that the complete destruction of Moab and Edom is predicted (Num. 24:17c). Some authors maintain that this was not realized in the history of the Jews, for even the subjugation by David was not complete (2 Kgs. 8:2), and the victory of Joram and Josaphat seems indecisive (4 Kgs. 3:4-27).¹⁹ Hence it is necessary to find its realization in Christ. Even if, however, it is admitted that this part of the prediction found its fulfillment in David, in view of the context, "in the latter days," "not now, not near" a post-Davidic period is certainly indicated. A reconciliation of these divergent conclusions will be made later.

Tradition, Jewish and Christian, as well as the context of the prophecy demands a messianic interpretation. Whether that interpretation is literal or typical is debated.

1) Following the leadership of St. John Chrysostom and Cajetan, some²⁰ hold that the prophecy directly and literally refers to David, who is a type of Christ the Messiah-King. In view however of the expression "in the latter days" and in view of the context which demands a post-Davidic interpretation it is difficult to approve this opinion. Moreover, on what grounds is the spiritual sense inserted? Not on scriptural grounds, for Scripture is silent and the passage may be interpreted literally; not on traditional grounds, as Chrysostom does not constitute tradition. The real ground upon which this opinion is based is the difficulty arising from the subjection of Moab to the Messiah in verse 17c. Adopting the spiritual sense, these authors apply these lines to the enemies of the Messiah.

¹⁸ Ceuppens, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

¹⁹ Dennefeld, *loc. cit.*, vol. 10 (1929), col. 1420.

²⁰ Allioli, Loch and Reischl, Hetzenauer, Patrizi. (Named by Ceuppens, *op. cit.*, p. 98).

2) A second opinion interprets the prophecy in the literal sense with reference to Christ who will subdue all his enemies, who in turn are introduced under the name of Moabites. This subjection will be spiritual, not material.²¹ The reasons adduced are a) from the expressions "in the latter days," and "but not now," "but not near." b) The prophecy was not fulfilled in David, for the victory of David over the Moabites is not definitive (cf. 4 Kgs. 1:1; 3:4-27). Therefore the prophecy refers to the Messiah, for besides David no other king can be found to whom the prophecy would apply. It may be disputed, however, whether the victory of David is complete or not. The context indicates that the prophecy is directed against Moab; verse 14 points out: "what this people (Israel) will do to thy people (Moabites)." Moreover the subjection of Moab to the Messiah would be a blessing more than a punishment.²²

3) Ceuppens²³ distinguishes two parts in the prophecy. The first part vv. 17 a-b refers literally to the Messiah; the second part vv. 17c-19 refers to the kingdom of Moab which will be punished by Israel. The first part refers to Christ because a) of the expressions "in the latter days," and "not now, not near"; b) because the person mentioned under the figures of "star" and "sceptre" will be a great leader endowed with power and splendor. Since the time indicated is post-Davidic, no one besides the Messiah is able to be designated. The second part refers to Moab, because a) the context demands a punishment of Moab, which would not be fulfilled if subjection to the Messiah is considered. There is then question of material subjection, and battle, which was fulfilled in Davidic times (2 Kgs. 8:2).

This prophecy points out a) the origin of the Messiah, from Israel; b) the splendor of the Messiah under the figure of a "star"; c) the power of the Messiah, under the figure of a "sceptre." The celestial origin of the Messiah can hardly be deduced from this text; the word "star" is a figure as is its counterpart "sceptre."

Very little is added to the messianic concept of that period, as from the preceding prophecies, principally the prophecy of Jacob (Gen. 49:10), the origin, splendor, and power of the Mes-

²¹ Bea: *op. cit.* p. 215.

²² Cf. Ceuppens, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

²³ Ceuppens, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

sias were made known. The figure of the "star," however, is new. What is extraordinary is the fact that God made use of a Gentile as the instrument of this prophecy; this fact indicates a relation between the Messias and the Gentiles.

BALAAM AND THE PROPHECY

As we have already pointed out, Balaam was a Gentile; besides, he was a soothsayer. He dwelt "by the river of the land of the children of Ammon" (Num. 22:5); a critical reading gives us this: Pethor, which is by the River, to the land of the children of Ammon. Pethor seems to be identified with Petru, situated on the Sajur River, a tributary of the Euphrates. If this is accepted, it is difficult to give assent to the reading "to the land of the children of Ammon"; perhaps this would read "the children of his people," that is, his native land.

That Balaam knew of the God of Israel is attested in his first words to the messengers of Balac: "Tarry here this night, and I will answer whatsoever the Lord shall say to me" (Num. 22:8). The entire narrative bears out the same fact. Moreover he knew that God was not to be gainsaid. His reply to the second group of messengers from Balac is definite: "If Balac would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot alter the word of the Lord my God to speak either more or less" (Num. 22:18). The same point is made at various times, Num. 22:38; 23:3. In his first prophecy he says: "How shall I curse him, whom God hath not cursed" (Num. 23:8). Balaam was certain that he spoke the revelation of God: "Balaam the son of Beor hath said: The man whose eye is stopped up hath said: The hearer of the words of God hath said, who knoweth the doctrine of the Highest, and seeth the visions of the Almighty" (Num. 24, 15-16). It would be outside the scope of this article to discuss the knotty problem of the origin of Balaam's knowledge of the true God, as well as the psychological side of his revelations.

A point that may be raised is the connection between the prophecy of Balaam and that of Jacob. There are some similarities. In the introduction to both prophecies (Gen. 49:2; Num. 24:14) the phrase "in the latter days" occurs. Jacob uses the figure of the sceptre (Gen. 49:10) as does Balaam (Num. 24:17). In the second and third utterances of Balaam we find some of the same figures used by Jacob, e.g., a lion and a lioness,

water. It would be difficult to assert any connection between the prophecies on such slender evidence.

If however one should be inclined to accept the influence of astronomy on the prophecy of Jacob, as does Burrows,²⁴ then the connection between the two prophecies is more apparent, as many of the astral motifs are the same. As an instance we adduce the messianic sections of the two prophecies, more particularly where the figure of "sceptre" is employed. In both cases Burrows sees the same astral motif, the King-Star, and Leonis.²⁵ "This time it is applied as in Gen. 49, and even with the same tone of expectation." The theory of the influence of astronomy on the Prophecy of Jacob is a possible theory; I do not think that it can merit the claim of probability.²⁶

SUMMARY

a) When the Israelites encamped on the plain of Moab as they neared the end of their forty years' wandering, Balac the king of Moab calls in Balaam, the son of Beor, a Gentile and a soothsayer, to curse Israel.

b) Balaam delivers blessings instead of curses. He speaks on four occasions; on the fourth he utters a messianic prophecy indicating the origin of the Messiah, his splendor under the figure of a "star," his power under the figure of a "sceptre."

c) The text is fairly well-preserved. The various readings do not touch the substance of the prophecy.

d) Tradition, Jewish and Christian, and the context demand the messianic meaning. The prophecy directly refers to Christ, although there are some who hold for the spiritual sense.

e) Balaam knew the God of Israel; he knew that his prophecies were the revelation of God, which could not but be stated. Connection between the prophecies of Jacob and Balaam cannot be proved.

GILMORE H. GUYOT, C.M.

²⁴ Burrows, *The Oracles of Jacob and Balaam* (The Bellarmine Series, 3).

²⁵ Burrows, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

²⁶ Cf. Review of Burrows, "The Oracles of Jacob and Balaam" in *R.B.*, vol. 48 (1939) pp. 624, 625.

OBSCURITIES IN THE LATIN PSALTER

VIII.

45. Psalm 57:10. (Wednesday, at Sext.)

*Priusquam intellexerent spinæ vestrae rhamnum: sicut viventes,
sic in ira absorbet eos.*

Two nouns in biblical Hebrew, having the same forms in both singular and plural, though apparently of different derivations, mean respectively "thorn" and "pot." Hence *spinæ vestrae*, which follows LXX in reading the former of the two. But the meaning "your pots" is much more probable. It is true (Bi.) that most of the ancient versions read "thorns," but the objective value of their testimony here is vitiated by the ease with which a translator would assimilate *spina* to the genuine *rhamnum* when the first was really ambiguous in its Hebrew script. The word for *rhamnum* is truly "thorn," specified as "the white thorn" by Schleusner, and as "the bramble" or "buckthorn" by our Hebrew lexicographers. When a cooking-pot "feels the thorn" it is beginning to heat over a fire of the dried thorny weed which is used for fuel in Palestine to this day. The Hebrew original of *intellegere* is also *sentire*, since its radical notion is that of "perception."

Schleusner approves Jerome's personal interpretation of *intellegere* as *crescere* (though this is hard to wrest from the Hebrew verb), as well as his preference of *spinæ* in the same version for *ollæ*. But the great doctor hardly seems to aid us in writing *Antequam crescant spinæ vestrae in rhamnum*. The Psalmist is in need of a figure of the *rapidity* with which calamity will descend from above upon the evildoer. "Before your prickles grow into a thorn" a good deal of time must pass, but not between the kindling of a fire and the first stage of cooking.

The second member presents more difficulty. *Absorbet eos* (apart from its subject) is rather "will sweep them away." ("Them" is verbally "him" in Hebrew, representing the enemy by the very common use of the "collective singular.") This sentence is introduced by the comparison "as living, so wrath." The first term is in the singular, perhaps modified to the plural by LXX and V under the attraction of the final "them." It may mean properly "alive," or "green" if referred to "the thorn," or

possibly "raw" if pointing to what is cooking in the pot. The second is "wrath" (invariably divine, when this word is used), but radically "a burning." But this last is not very probable, and "wrath" seems much the surer.

Jerome's version continues: *Quasi viventes, quasi in ira tempestas rapiet eos*. We cannot trace *in* before the LXX, but it demands some new subject for the verb, and *tempestas* is supplied. But apparently the verb should imply its subject—"he," meaning God—and some other arrangement is needed.

Zorell imagines the divine vengeance rushing like an unexpected raider on the camp fire, and scattering the group before the meal is cooked: *Dum adhuc crudum est, velut in ira exturbet illos!* But, besides the questionable *in*, the first conjunction, correlative (and in Hebrew identical) with *velut*, could hardly be so different as *dum adhuc*. This Hebrew construction is ordinarily as inflexible as our proverb "like master, like man." And yet "living" is an adjective, and "wrath" a noun.

Tentatively, and with some hesitation, I would suggest something more simply literal. As "wrath" is radically "burning," it may here recover enough of the value of an adjective to be thus correlated with "living." Then we might have "As living, so wrathful, He will sweep them away"; that is, "As sure to be wrathful as He is alive, He will sweep them away." This approaches Bird's suggested oath "as He lives," without actually introducing this phrase by expressing "as," which is not the idiomatic form of the oath.

46. Psalm 57:12a. (Wednesday, at Sext.)

Et dicet homo: *Si* utique est fructus iusto: utique est Deus iudicans eos in terra.

Mankind at large, seeing the fate of the evildoers, will conclude that virtue is sure of reward. But *si* seems to make this verdict conditional and uncertain instead of confident. While V, as usual, has followed LXX here, Jerome himself better understood the initial particle "indeed," present in his own text and still present in TM. His version reads *Vere est fructus iusto: vere est Deus iudicans in terra*. And thus also reads the Hebrew, without any expression of doubt.

47. Psalm 59:10a-b. (Wednesday, at None.)

Moab olla spei meae. In Idumaeam extendam calceamentum meum.

If the title of this Psalm is of any historical value, it recalls a crisis which elicited from David a prayer for divine assistance in a rather far-flung campaign. Beginning at verse 8, he avows his confidence of a favorable answer, naming in hopeful anticipation the provinces to be conquered, as if already his. Galaad, Manasses and Ephraim (9) are loyal in fact, and Juda is the very seat of royalty. The expected reduction of Moab and Edom, just east and south of the Dead Sea, is next celebrated as if already achieved.

This verse has an exact parallel in Ps. 107:10. In both alike "Moab is the pot of my washing"—my wash-basin. This is clear in TM, and Jerome writes *Moab olla lavacri mei* here, though *lebes pelvis meae* in the parallel passage of Ps. 107. How LXX got ἐλπίδος out of the Hebrew genitive is easy to explain if the Alexandrian translator of the Psalms was more familiar with Aramaic. The latter has a verb of the same radicals meaning "trust" or "confide," but not so the biblical Hebrew.

For *extendam* in the second member the Hebrew reads "I will throw," and a preposition "on" or "over" governs "Edom." The footwear, as this passage is usually explained, is not supposed to be "cast off" or rejected, but ceremonially "thrown upon" the conquered territory as a symbol of dominion. The same explanation suffices for Ps. 107:10, where the wording is identical.

48. Psalm 61:4c-d. (Thursday, at Matins.)

*Quousque irruitis in hominem? Interficitis universi vos:
tamquam parieti inclinato et maceriae depulsae?*

There is probably no second interrogation after *hominem*, but an affirmation reproaching the enemy with habitual violence. But the chief obscurity lies in the ultra-literalness of *interficitis*. No one "kills" a wall or a fence. However, the common emphasis of this verb is on violent or brutal action as the method of killing; and the nature of the object here would make "hammer," "hack" or "hew" a more appropriate translation. "A leaning wall, a rampart pushed in" may be assailed with vigor

either by an invader seeking to make a breach, or by a repairer intending to rebuild. Either will push the work of destruction with all the force at his command.

Keeping in mind this modification of the verb by the nature of its object, we may understand:

“How long will you assail a man?

You hack (at him), all of you,
like a leaning wall
or a tilted rampart.”

49. Psalm 61:5a-b. (Thursday, at Matins.)

*Verumtamen pretium meum cogitaverunt repellere, cucurri
in siti.*

In this somewhat tangled passage the textual integrity of TM is so clearly attested (especially in the first sentence) by the very deflections of LXX and V, that it may be taken as a safe norm of the original. For *verumtamen* we have a particle which does indeed mean “only,” but here in a restrictive, not an adversative force. *Meum* should have been “his,” but the pronominal suffix was easy to mutilate or misread. For *pretium* LXX rightly wrote τιμήν, which, however, means not only “price” but also “honor.” The Hebrew word means “dignity” or “eminence” only, and the wrong alternative was taken by V in writing *pretium*. Moreover, the word is introduced by “from,” which LXX somehow missed.

Next comes “they plan,” in present tense, to account for *cogitaverunt* and its Greek original. Here the initial “only” exerts its qualifying force: they do nothing but plot. *Repellere* is not far from the truer *expellere*. Thus far, then, the description of the Psalmist’s foes runs: “They only plot to put him out of his dignity”—that is, the upright man.

But the oft quoted *cucurri in siti*, while still justifying the Hebrew, has wandered far from its sense in the two words composing this terse sentence. Without the vowel points it was easy for LXX to interpret the verb as “run,” instead of another of precisely the same consonants, meaning “delight in” and governing a direct object. At least the verb, if thus mistaken, was written by LXX in the third person plural, as in the Hebrew. But the second aorist was used instead of the present, and the

third plural of the former is identical in form with its first singular. Hence V, supposing the latter, wrote *cucurri*, where even *cucurrerunt* would still have been far off. "I have run," in brief, should have been "they delight in." The final word, direct object of this verb, is "lying" or "falsehood," as acknowledged by the versions of Aquila and Symmachus and the Syro-Hexaplar. Moreover, it has no governing preposition, nor needs one, as it would after the intransitive "they run." It is so difficult to conjecture an original capable of being read $\delta\acute{\iota}\psi\epsilon\iota$ by LXX, that Eusebius records the opinion that some transcriber slipped into $\delta\acute{\iota}\psi\epsilon\iota$ from $\psi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota$. But no trace of the latter remains in any MS of LXX, though it is the reading of Syro-Hexaplar alone, the versions of Aquila and Symmachus expressing "falsehood" by slightly different words.

At all events, *cucurri in siti* cannot be saved by any device of translation. This member is rather connected in sense with what follows. Jerome himself writes: *Partem enim ejus cogitaverunt expellere, placuerunt sibi in mendacio: ore suo benedicunt, et corde suo maledicunt*. Giving the first sentence the slight correction required, we may translate the whole verse as follows:

"They only plot to drive him from his dignity.
 They delight in falsehood.
 With the mouth they bless,
 but in their hearts they curse."

(To be continued)

W. H. MCCLELLAN, S. J.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CORNER

BETHLEHEM: BASILICA OF THE NATIVITY

The Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem was considerably damaged in the series of earthquakes that rocked Palestine on July 11, 1927. Because of difficulties arising from the status quo of the rites functioning in the basilica, little was done about any major repairs for seven years. In the meantime, the condition of the structure was becoming alarming, and many feared that its collapse was imminent.

To the Director of Antiquities in Palestine, Mr. T. E. Richmond, more than to any other, must be given the credit for the measures that were finally taken toward putting the venerable edifice into a safe condition. A structural survey was ordered by the British High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope, and Mr. Richmond was placed in charge. The services of Mr. William Harvey and of his son Mr. John Harvey, both competent architects, were procured, and work began early in the summer of 1934.

Although the survey had primarily in view the preservation of the structure, matters of an archaeological nature received due consideration. Mr. Richmond and his architects were keenly alive to the possibility that new evidence might turn up regarding the early state of the basilica. They proceeded with extreme caution, leaving nothing unnoticed. On the scene almost daily was the veteran Palestinian archaeologist, Fr. H. Vincent, O.P., who had made a careful study of the basilica before the World War.

The original basilica, enclosing the grotto that tradition had pointed out as the birthplace of Christ, was begun in 326 by the Emperor Constantine and his mother, St. Helena. Two centuries earlier, the site had been desecrated by the Emperor Hadrian, who planted there the customary grove associated with the licentious worship of Thammuz (Adonis). A statue of the god was placed within the grotto itself. There is no evidence, however, that Hadrian ever erected any structure over or around the grotto.

Constantine's basilica was in service about two hundred years. St. Jerome, who lived many years (386-420) within the shadow of its walls, knew it well. Ruined by fire in the Samaritan revolt of 529, it was rebuilt a few years later by the Emperor Justinian. Although some have heretofore maintained that everything was restored according to the old plan, the recent discoveries indicate a number of radical changes.

Of Constantine's fourth century structure, only the lateral walls were incorporated into Justinian's building. The other walls, including those of the clerestory, had either collapsed after the Samaritan conflagration or were torn down by the workmen. Undoubtedly, much

material was salvaged, and the new basilica was built at least in part with it.

The basilica was lengthened at its west end by one bay, and a narthex was added to the new façade. Constantine's immense atrium was reduced about one third, but there are indications that an upper gallery may have been added instead. Although all vestiges of an atrium have disappeared, traces of its foundations were uncovered in 1932, when the municipality of Bethlehem re-paved the open place in front of the narthex.

Within the basilica, the square blocks known as plinths, which supported the individual columns, were lifted out of the pavement. Four trenches were cut lengthwise to bedrock, and supporting walls known as stylobates installed. These stylobates projected about a foot above the floor. Upon them the plinths were arranged as before, and the surrounding area was filled in. Thus a new floor level was established about three feet above the old one. The monolith columns of native red stone with their white capitals in Corinthian design slightly modified by the Greek crosses on the abacus, were returned to their respective plinths and divided the basilica again into a nave and double side aisles. Because of the new floor level, the grand staircase, which descended to the grotto at the east end of the nave, was lengthened a few steps. The clerestory with its gable roof was rebuilt, and all else in this part of the basilica was restored according to the old plan.

When the present pavement and the underlying fill had been removed, large sections of the old mosaic pavement came to light. It had been buried away for more than fourteen centuries. Among its many intricate geometrical and floral patterns, the swastika appears frequently. One of the medallions bears the Greek word for fish ΙΧΘΥΣ , a Christian cryptogram meaning *Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior*.

The really radical change was at the east end, where a small octagonal building enclosing the grotto was replaced by the present spacious structure. Among the major surprises in the recent survey were the remains of this octagonal structure. Centered within its walls was a circular ledge of stone resting upon an octagonal base of three low steps. The ledge flanked an opening, which once provided a view through the floor into the grotto below. It probably supported a metal balustrade also, and may have been surmounted by a light baldachino. Between the lowest step and the walls, portions of the mosaic pavement were still in place. The walls of the octagonal building were cut down to their foundations, and there are indications at the ends of the basilica's lateral walls that a large trilobate structure was attempted. The trilobate form was abandoned for the present plan. A transept as wide as the central nave was built, with a semi-circular apse at each

end projecting beyond the lateral walls of the building. The nave and inner aisles were extended two bays beyond the transept, the aisles ending in a straight wall and the nave in an apse similar to those at the end of the transept. The outer aisles were extended only one bay and ended in straight walls. At the juncture of the transept with the extension of the nave, just ahead of the present Greek iconostasis, there was found a light semi-circular foundation, which may have supported a grill in Justinian's structure.

The grotto itself seems to have been originally a double cave near the top of a hill, and the natural entrance was towards the east. Constantine's architects cut around the grotto and enclosed it within an octagonal building connected on its west side with the nave of the basilica proper. They also cut away a part of the grotto's ceiling and closed up the east entrance of the grotto with a niche for the altar of the Nativity. At the west end of the grotto, they made a new entrance, which opened on the grand staircase leading to the nave above.

Without disturbing these arrangements, Justinian's architects added lateral staircases converging on either side of the Nativity niche. The southern of these lateral staircases was cut through the rock that separated the place of the Nativity from the place of the manger. The manger itself, which St. Jerome said was of clay, had already disappeared in his day.

Justinian's basilica was spared by the Persians in 614, when they recognized their national dress on the Magi depicted under the gable of the façade. In 637, the Arabs under the Caliph Omar likewise left it intact. It was pillaged, however, at other times in its long history. Fanatics too among the Christians have frequently caused tumults within its hallowed walls and damaged its treasures. Recently, violent earthquakes have disturbed its very foundations.

The basilica has received occasional repairs. There have also been restorations and minor alterations. In the twelfth century, the walls were adorned with precious marbles and with mosaics representing biblical and conciliar scenes on a background of gold. These mosaics were the gift of the Greek Emperor, Manuel Commenus, and may have replaced mosaics of an earlier date. Sometime during the Middle Ages or later, the grotto was reduced in width to be vaulted with masonry, and the circular opening disappeared beneath the present platform. The grand staircase likewise was blocked up, and the pavement was extended over it.

In the fifteenth century, a new roof was put on the entire structure under the direction of the Franciscans. The timber was supplied by the Republic of Venice, and the lead, by King Edward IV of England. Two centuries later, the Turks took the lead for bullets, and the basilica was left exposed to the elements a number of years. Before

another roof could be erected by the Greeks in 1672, the mosaics were ruined. The roof was renewed again by the Greeks in 1842, and the present pavement dates from the same year. The wall erected by the Greeks between the nave and transepts, was removed by the British military authorities in 1918.

Battered as it is and shorn of its former splendor, the venerable edifice is still, in its walls and general features, the sixth century structure as enlarged by Justinian. The ugly, fortress-like monasteries which surround it, have undoubtedly been its protection against total destruction. One wishes, however, that at least its façade be extricated and restored—with an atrium, if protection be still necessary on that side. After religious peace returns to earth again, and all Christians are united in one flock under the Chief Shepherd of Christendom, may it be possible to restore with something of its ancient beauty this basilica at the birthplace of the Prince of Peace.

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E. A. CERNY, S.S.

BIBLICAL NEWS

For the first time, since its organization in 1936, The Catholic Biblical Association of America held its annual general meeting apart from the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. This was due to the fact that this year's congress of the Confraternity will be held in Los Angeles, October 12-15. However, there will be a regional meeting of the Biblical Association in Los Angeles during the Catechetical Congress with the Reverend Joseph L. Lilly, C.M., President of the Association presiding. During the Congress the Biblical Association plans to sponsor a large exhibit outlining its work and activities. The chief attraction of the exhibit will be the section on the Revision of the New Testament.

The Very Reverend Charles J. Callan, O.P., S.T.M., Editor of the *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, and Professor of Sacred Scripture at the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, Maryknoll, N. Y., was appointed a Consultor to the Pontifical Biblical Commission.

Since the death of Msgr. Grannan of the Catholic University of America, this country has not been represented among the Consultors of the Pontifical Biblical Commission. In Father Callan we have one who has long been a noted teacher and writer. Readers of *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* will have admired the breadth and accuracy of his knowledge. He has supplied his Maryknoll pupils and many others with clear, practical commentaries. Recently, in collaboration with his friend, Father McHugh, O.P., S.T.M., he edited a very good text of the New Testament which they modestly ascribe to their deceased confrère, Father Spencer.

The Right Reverend William L. Newton, M.A., S.S.D., Professor of Sacred Scripture at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., was invested as a Domestic Prelate by Archbishop Schrembs of Cleveland, to which diocese Msgr. Newton belongs. He was already distinguished for his ability and amiability in the seminary of Cleveland when he came to the Catholic University two years ago and since then has made very many new friends who will rejoice with his old friends in his added honors. Msgr. Newton has been from the beginning the Secretary of the Bible board of revisors and, in close co-operation with the Most Reverend Bishop of Kansas City, he is an indefatigable worker. He has done very much to keep the revisors at work and to make their labors fruitful.

The Reverend John F. McConnell, M.M., has been added to the faculty of The Catholic University, Washington, D. C., as professor of

Sacred Scripture. Father McConnell studied at the Angelicum (1930-32) and the Biblical Institute (1932-35).

In view of the conditions which have closed practically all the Catholic Universities of Europe, the School of Sacred Theology of The Catholic University of America in inaugurating this year a graduate course in Sacred Scripture. This course will satisfy the requirements of The Catholic University for the degree of Doctorate in Sacred Theology. It will at the same time prepare the students for the examinations leading to the Licentiate in Sacred Scripture which are given by the Pontifical Biblical Commission.

Enrollment in this course is available to those who have the Licentiate in Sacred Theology, and to those who have already begun graduate work in Sacred Scripture. The program of studies may be completed in two years after one obtains the Licentiate in Sacred Theology.

CURRICULUM-SCHOLASTIC YEAR 1940-1941

<i>First Year of Course</i>		<i>Second Year of Course</i>	
	Hrs. per week		Hrs. per week
General Introduction	2	Special Introduction	2
Exegesis	3	Exegesis	4
Hebrew II	3	Biblical Theology	2
Greek II	2	Hebrew III	2
Semitic Language II	2	Semitic Language II	1
O. T. History	2	N. T. History	2
Biblical Geography	2	Biblical Archeology	2
Seminar	1	Seminar	1

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BOOK REVIEWS

Biblia sacra juxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem jussu Pii Pp. XI, cura et studio monachorum abbatiae pontificiae sancti Hieronymi in Urbe ordinis sancti Benedicti edita. IV. *Libri Josue, Judicum, Ruth* ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi cum praefatione et variis capitulorum seriebus. Romae, typis polyglottis vaticanis. MDCCCXXXIX. Pp. xi, 490.

With the publication of this fourth volume, the work of the Benedictine Vulgate reaches the end of the first great stage marked out for it. The books it comprises are the last of those treated by Dom Henri Quentin in his *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate, I. l'Octateuch*, Rome, 1922. Such projects move slowly, and the present one had its inception as far back as 1907. Since the issuance of the text of Genesis in 1926, the direction of the undertaking has been modified somewhat, so that the functions of the former pontifical commission for the work have been taken over by a permanent Benedictine Abbey at Rome, that of St. Jerome. Whatever be one's natural eagerness to see a task of this kind brought to accomplishment with all possible speed, it must remain true that the one thing necessary is not speed, but that the work be definitive within its scope, so that it need never be done over again. It is therefore most satisfying to see in the present volume renewed evidence of the technical perfection already displayed by its predecessors.

The method employed in establishing the continuous text is too well known and has been too widely discussed to call for any new remark at present. In the three books we are considering, there are a total of only 33 places wherein the editors have felt obliged to depart from the readings of the preferred witnesses to a conjectural or less well attested text. Of these only 4 (none in Judges) give a result different from the Clementine text. In a sample chapter, Judges 8, 6 variations from the Clementine occur in the word order, 17 in spelling (mainly involving proper names with use of the letter 'h'), "ait" once for "respondit," two omissions and one insertion of words of an altogether secondary importance, and no more. These more or less random samplings will show what should be already obvious; namely, that this work will necessarily make its appeal primarily to those for whom a fully developed critical apparatus has its own story to tell, and who can discern something of the history of the text through the centuries from its recorded variants.

The volume concludes with a hundred-page appendix of "Orthographica" in which the variants in other than proper names from that standpoint are summed up for the whole Octateuch in an alphabetical word-list which will be instructive not only for the student of the Vulgate, but no doubt for philologists engaged with Latin and the

Romance tongues as well. One might perhaps have expected rather to find this material published apart, in something like the series of "Collectanea biblica latina."

PATRICK W. SKEHAN.

THOMAS A. BECKER, S.J., *The Public Life of Christ* (New York: Apostleship of Prayer). \$1.00.

This modest looking book belies its appearance for it contains veritable gems. It is a series of 32 articles arranged in order of time covering the more important events in the Public Life of Our Blessed Lord. These articles have already appeared in *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. The treatment as a rule is, first chronological and historical setting, then the literal meaning, and finally applications and adaptations. The mode of presentation is artistic and attractive, so that while there is evidenced a thorough grasp of the philological and exegetical data with their various problems, there is no parade of learning. Difficulties that would be harmful to souls are avoided.

The writer shows himself a master of the spiritual life, which is one of the chief prerequisites for an author of a Life of Christ. He has dug deep into the best output of the ages and brought forth apt quotations from the Fathers and Doctors of the Church which throw light on these important events in our Divine Lord's life, that have such salutary lessons for us. The result is a work that is scientific and profitable. It catches the proper spirit of the Sacred Scriptures and inshrines it in a clear style with simple language.

The professor of exegesis will find this book most useful; but it is above all to be recommended for spiritual reading and meditation, and for the preparation of sermons. This masterly work with its timely lessons that are oil and wine to the wounds of a weary war-torn world, warms the heart and will surely grow in popularity because of its simplicity and real worth.

PATRICK J. TEMPLE.

DAVID GOLDSTEIN, *Jewish Panorama* (Astor Post Office, Boston, Mass.: Catholic Campaigners for Christ, 1940). Pp. xvii, 400. \$3.00.

The noted convert, lecturer, and author, David Goldstein, has again made a real contribution to Catholic literature in his timely and valuable book *Jewish Panorama*. For years the author has labored in the open air and on the platform to make Christ better known and understood among non-Catholics and particularly the Jews. It is no exaggeration to say that *Jewish Panorama* fills a long felt need, coming as it does in a world torn apart today by war and racial hatreds. In seventeen chapters replete with sound arguments, the author treats of many questions commonly discussed today. Such are, e.g., "What is a Jew?" "Who are the Jews?" "What is Judaism?" Chapter five

entitled "Statistical View of the Jews," is particularly interesting: therein the author outlines the population trend of the Jews, their views on birth-control, Jewish organizations and affiliations, their power in industry, commerce, banking, newspapers, broadcasting stations, theatres, department stores, etc. Again, in his sections on Anti-Semitism, the Talmud, Zionism, Jewish and Christian Monotheism, the Messiah, the Crucifixion, and several other topics related to Judaism, the author is not content with a superficial analysis, but goes to the root of them and manifests his scholarly ability by the well-documented arguments which he presents. Likewise, the chapters "Are the Jews Red?" and "Is Bolshevism Jewish?" are instructive, and in general should do much to counteract false notions which have arisen on these scores. Finally, in chapter seventeen "Perspective," the author discusses the inadequacy of modern Judaism, a point which he so often refers to in his writings and lectures. This inadequacy of Judaism is based upon its lack of proper credentials, namely, a House of David, a Priesthood, a Sacrifice, and a Temple. If anything, the lack of these should convince the Jews of the passing of Judaism. But their failure to believe that Christ supplemented, elevated and fulfilled the Law of Moses continues to leave them in darkness.

The author's approach to such difficult questions is worthy of special mention. It is not too much to say that he is fair in every respect; throughout four hundred pages he has endeavored to keep in mind the admonition of St. Paul, that "without charity we become as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal." His data and arguments are based upon facts and their proper interpretation. At times he defends, rebukes, reproves, or entreats the Jews, but this is done in a spirit of charity and patience.

Jewish Panorama may well serve as a text book for converts to Catholicism from Judaism. Moreover, it should help "to further the knowledge of present-day Jewry among Christians, and the knowledge of orthodox Christianity among Jews." Priests and laymen particularly interested in this sphere of missionary activity should not fail to read it.

CHARLES H. PICKAR, O.S.A.

WILLIAM TEMPLE, *Readings in St. John's Gospel*. Second Series: Chapter, XIII-XXI. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940). Pp. xxxiii, 207-412.

The Archbishop of York continues in this volume his personal reflections on St. John's Gospel. The first part (chapters I—XII) was issued about a year ago. Cf. C.B.Q. 1 (1939), 274. The introduction to the work is reprinted at the beginning of this second volume. The pages are numbered to carry on from the close of the first volume.

The author's method is that of a private and meditative consideration of the Gospel, employing freely the results of modern research. The point of view is conservative. The more serious student of the New Testament may not always agree with the author, though he will find some interest in the expressed views. The average reader may discover in the work some assistance to a better appreciation of this the profoundest of the Gospels. But the value of the book would certainly have been increased had the author given more room to the reflections of the Fathers who have passed on to us their meditations on this Gospel.

VINCENT McNABB, O.P., *Mary of Nazareth* (New York: P. J. Kennedy, 1939). Pp. xv, 132.

The content of the book is divided into twelve chapters, one for each month of the year. The various feasts and glories of Our Lady receive as far as possible a biblical background. The author's manner of presentation and style are unique; at times it is just a thought, a sentiment upon which the reader is left to meditate; then again one meets with the golden fruit of the author's years of meditation and experience. The fresh and invigorating spirit that pervades the book will make it a welcome contribution to Mariology.

CHARLES G. HEUPLER, O.F.M.CAP.

HERMAN J. KEYSER, *A Commentary on Exodus* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1940). Pp. XIV, 451.

This book gives evidence of the author's long labor with Exodus. But, unfortunately, it gives evidence also of hasty publication. Excessive abbreviation, in text and footnote, cryptic, incomplete sentences, and numerous misprints and misspellings give the impression that the author gave his personal notes to the publisher, unchecked and unrevised.

Space scarcely allows for detailed examples of the lapses mentioned above. And space makes me content myself with merely mentioning some of the questionable statements of the author. Jehovah "may well have been" the original pronunciation of the divine name (p. 80). "Shaddai might mean rock" (p. 81). Gershon means expulsion (p. 125). *Kapar* means to atone by *covering* sin (pp. 348 and 423). The Hebrew Sabbath is of common origin with the Babylonian (p. 241). More proof than the author gave is required for these statements. Also the dating of Hammurabi (c. 2300 B.C. on p. 46, and c. 2100 B.C. on pp. 256 and 318) and his identification with Amraphel of Gen. 14,1 (p. 318) need rechecking according to the more recent scholarly work. The same may be said with regard to the discussion of the date of the Exodus (pp. 195-201.) Duncan, Marston, and Petrie have hardly said the last and latest word on this subject.

The author has a documentary theory of his own with regard to Exodus. The composite authorship of the Hexateuch is accepted (pp. 330; 41-42, 121, and *passim*). P, however, is the *oldest* of the documents. It is made up of priestly annals "tantamount to those of an eyewitness, or recorded shortly after the events, etc., occurred," (p. 330). P is comparable to the basic material in Mark, used by Matthew and Luke. J and E would correspond to these latter. D would correspond to John (p. 63; cf. also pp. 41-42, 121, 167).

Some sections (e.g., chapter 34:29-35) appear "to be notes made by Moses at the time" (p. 43), or even "excerpts from Moses' diary" (p. 52). The priests, "when made official," began their annals, Moses, or perhaps the Levites, kept the records before that time (p. 438). The author insists that Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings "elicit everywhere that priests acted as recorders, official and unofficial" (pp. 426 and 434). These records were terse, "necessarily . . . because of the vast amount of records, reaching back to the Exodus and probably beyond" (p. 412).

E and J were prophet historians from the North and South respectively. After the schism they adapted the matter of the existing books (much of which was from the P annals) to their own partisan purposes (pp. 41-42, 50, 63, and 287). E especially was "but the elaboration of P" (p. 412).

Rje (the author who brought the P, J, and E documents together into one book) completed his work before Deuteronomy (for D he seems to accept the critical date). But Rje is a trustworthy historian. He uses P, J, and E without tampering. In fact where we have duplicates and triplicates ascribed to the various sources, it is because Rje is anxious to provide ample and varied documentation for his facts (pp. 167, 170, 263, 413).

D "was a new recension of the Torah, provided for a generation that had become estranged from the J (Yahweh) worship, for political reasons" (p. 433). When D is in disagreement with Exodus, he is surely in error (pp. 433-434). But the D enactments on the unity of the sanctuary did not succeed, because the people knew (from Exodus) that they were justified in having altars on the high places (p. 292). One might ask if the prophetic attitude towards the high places was also false.

Leviticus, also, was a late book. Hence it should yield to Exodus (p. 295).

Again, in his defense of the P document the author attacks the authenticity of Ezechiel. Especially does he attack chapters 40-48, which constitute a point of departure for the critical attack on P. He calls these chapters propaganda of the Zadokite party, and sees in them "the skilled, veiled hand of the oriental politician . . . stealing

the march on those whom he feared (Levites)." This discussion is found on pages 331-336. He makes these chapters as late as 175 B.C. (p. 22). So far is he ready to go to refute the standard critical position! Deuteronomy, Leviticus, and Ezechiel must be attacked to defend P. Yet the arguments he uses to defend P may be turned to defend these books also.

Keyser's enthusiastic assertions concerning the destruction of the critical theory by archaeological finds are entirely too sanguine. Many points in the theory have been weakened by archaeology, but the theory is far from dead. Too sanguine also are the author's hopes for future triumphs through archaeology. He hopes that Egyptian records of the plagues, etc. will be found (pp. 47 and 150) and that the ancient genealogies will be recovered (p. 124). Even the documents that Rje used may be recovered from the high places (p. 162). We may recall that many high places have already been investigated. Finally, there is hope that the original tablets of the Book of Covenant, "nay that the two tablets of the testimony will be recovered" (p. 411).

I have pointed out the faults of the book in this review. Yet there is much that is worthwhile. It is the valuable ore that one finds that disappoints one that more refining was not done.

The author accepts the supernatural import of the events of Exodus. He approaches Sinai with reverence. But his defense of Exodus is weak where it overstates archaeological arguments, and undermines the value of other Old Testament books. His material is plentiful, his purpose excellent, but his means, method, and external presentation could be greatly improved.

JAMES E. COLERAN, S.J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Some of these may be reviewed in subsequent issues.)

The American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven, Conn.:

The Other Side of the Jordan. By NELSON GLUECK. 1940. Pp. xviii, 208. \$2.50.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York City, N. Y.:

The Search For the Real Jesus. A century of Historical Study. By CHESTER CHARLTON MCCOWN. Pp. xviii, 338. \$2.50.

Rumble and Carty, St. Paul, Minn.:

Another Thousand Radio Replies, Second Volume. By Rev. Dr. LESLIE RUMBLE, M.S.C. and REV. CHARLES MORTIMER CARTY. 1940. Pp. 358. \$.50.

St. Anthony Guild Press, Paterson, New Jersey:

Church History Through Biography. Eighteen Study Units With Aids for Discussion. Published by The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine National Center. 1940. Pp. 175.

Ethics of Christianity. By REV. C. M. WINTERS. 1940. Pp. 141.

Periodicals and Articles:

Revista Biblica. Organo trimestral para la inteligencia de la Sagrada Escritura. Ano II, Abril-Junio de 1940.

The Canticle of Canticles. Translated and adapted by KENNETH J. COUHIG, C.P.P.S. Reprinted from the *Nuntius Aulæ*, July, 1940. Pp. 20.

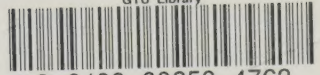
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